

THE
History of Uttar Pradesh Under the Mughals
(1526–1707 A D)
(A Regional Study)

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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PREFACE

Only a small part of us are familiar with the history of the region to which we belong, the majority either do not care or remain ignorant about it. A decade back the general trend of historiography was to record the events relating to kings and their consorts, their courts and nobles or about their administration or social or economic history of India as a whole or any specific region. That trend is still in vogue. Monographs after monographs are being published but comparatively not much attention is being paid to regional history. The history of only a few Subahs of the Mughal Empire has formed the subject matter of research and investigation of some scholars. Therefore, there is much which needs must be done; because for a complete picture of India as a whole the story of the regions comprised in it is very essential. Keeping this view point in mind an attempt was made a few years earlier to present a succinct account of the history of the Punjab under the great Mughals. Similarly works on Bengal, Bihar and Gujarat during the Mughal period have been published. But so far no attempt has been made to delineate the history of the region covered by Uttar Pradesh. Like other regions of Northern India, the area covered by the modern Uttar Pradesh also seems to be a compact and integrated unit. And therefore I have made an humble attempt to examine the course of historical events of this region vis a vis the different aspects of culture which developed and flourished here.

At the outset it may be asked did Uttar Pradesh exist in the Mughal period? But this would be mere hair splitting. Certainly the modern Uttar Pradesh did not exist but no one can deny the existence of the region. It was divided into a number of fiscal and administrative units but it was characterised by a uniform culture and outlook. It was controlled by smaller or bigger Iqtadars, Hindu or Muslim chiefs, Shiodars and others. Their jurisdiction and sphere of influence varied from dynasty to dynasty, reign to reign but the entity of the region could never be destroyed. Indeed, it formed the hub of the imperial structure. It provided light and guidance to the rest of the country and it continued to do so till the recent past. It was during the reign of Akbar that for the first time, the empire was divided into well defined and systematic administrative and fiscal units such as Subahs, Sarkars, parganas, mahals and dastur circles, and the present Uttar Pradesh felt the fullest impact of the rational experiment of the Great Mughal.

From 1580 to 1707 and even afterwards, this vast and extensive region continued subject to the imperial authority. But from 1721 onwards rapid developments began to occur in politics. Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk carved out an imperial principality in Oudh, which embraced a large chunk of modern Uttar Pradesh. About the same time Muhammad Khan Bangash founded the city of Farrukhabad and established an independent power in the Central Doab. Likewise Ali Muhammad Khan established his sway over Rohilkhand and the Marathas grabbed

Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand. Thus, the Subahs, which had been established by Akbar began to break up into smaller units. After 1757 the surviving remnants of the possessions of the Mughal sovereigns began to disintegrate even more rapidly. Najib Khan the Pathan established his hold over the region north west of Meerut and Bareilly and after the third battle of Panipat in 1761 conditions became even more alarming.

It witnessed the steady growth of British power and influence. Emperor Shah Alam granted the Diwani of Bengal to the East India Company in 1761. In 1765 the East India Company defeated the combined armies of Shuja-ud-daula and the Marathas in the battle of Jajau and compelled the Nawab to pay tribute of fifty lakhs of rupees. In 1774 the British helped the Nawab of Oudh to defeat Rahmat Khan, the Rohilla chief in the battle of Miranpur Katra. Next year, the East India Company established its hold over the Benaras division and in 1780 Warren Hastings removed Raja Chet Singh from his Gaddi. Thus, by 1801 the bulk of this region under review came under the possession of the East India Company as a result of the treaty with the Nawab of Oudh. It included the present Gorakhpur and Rohilkhand division as well as the districts of Allahabad, Fatehpur, Kanpur, Etawah, Mainpuri, Etah, and the portions of Kumaon and Meerut Districts. As regards, the western part of the region comprising of the Meerut division and the districts of Aligarh, Agra, Mathura, Banda, Hamirpur, Jalaun (in the Bundelkhand) it remained under the control of the Maratha

chief Mahadaji Scindia. In 1803 General Lake defeated the Marathas and thereafter this area also was incorporated into the territory of the East India Company. In 1816 after the treaty of Sagauli with Nepal, the districts of Garhwal, Nainital, Kumaon and Dehradun were added to it. But curiously enough the entire region formed a part of the Presidency of Bengal. But in 1833 an Act of the British Parliament separated this region from Bengal and was renamed as the North Western Provinces and it was placed under a Lt. Governor. A little later, Delhi and Ajmer were also added to the North Western Provinces. In between 1840 and 1853 when the Rajas of Jhansi, Jalaun and Hamirpur died without leaving heirs to succeed them, these districts were also added to the North Western Provinces. In 1853 Sagar and Narbada districts of Central India and in 1856 Oudh were added to it.

In 1857 this region became the centre of the liberation movement. The great uprising began in Meerut and then everywhere. There was great political awakening. Jhansi, Kalpi, Bithur, Kanpur, Lucknow, Benaras, Azamgarh and Ballia hummed with activity. The struggle threw up a galaxy of local leaders who moved from place to place like a whirlwind rousing the spirit of resistance amongst the masses and classes alike. Amongst such legendary figures may be counted Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, Nana Sahib, Tantya Tope and Azimullah Khan of Bithur, Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah, Rana Beni Madho and the Begum of Oudh and many others eminent persons. No sooner did the first phase of this struggle was over than in 1861 Sagar and

Narbada districts were separated from the North Western Provinces. Later Delhi was added to the Punjab and then Ajmer and Merwara were also formed into distinct unit. In 1902 the North Western Provinces was renamed as United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and in 1919 it became a governor's province. In 1935 the words Agra and Oudh were removed and it came to be known as only United Provinces. On 24th January 1950 the Constituent Assembly of free and independent India renamed this province as the Uttar Pradesh.

A region where occurred so many political developments in the modern period seemed to me most important and my inquisitive mind took me back to the Mughal period and I decided to present a succinct and lucid account of what today is known as the Uttar Pradesh. While preparing this work I was always conscious of the overwhelming mass of historical material, both Persian and non-Persian, in the form of official and non-official histories, the travel literature and the diaries of foreign travellers etc., as also the bulk of secondary sources. I have tried my best to gather information from the available sources but I am not loth to admit that owing to my personal limitations and difficulties, I could not find time to scrutinise every published and unpublished source. Moreover, the region selected by me for research is very huge extensive and the proportion of the mass of material is very huge. So, I limited my choice of the basic sources to the most important and representative ones. I

confess that I have not exhausted all the available sources but I dare say that I have presented a satisfactory history of Uttar Pradesh under the Mughals.

The present work is divided into seven major sections - Introductory - Political - Administrative - the pattern of Hindu-Muslim Society and Social Life - Economic - Religious condition and Religious Life - Education, Learning and Literature - Building and Monuments. Except the first chapter, the rest have been divided into several sections under relevant headings. In the introductory chapter I have examined the topography of the region, its past history from the ancient times upto the foundation of the Mughal Empire in Hindustan in 1526. During the Sultanate period this region seethed with rebellions. This was due to more than one reason. Firstly, the existence of the Rajputs and other Hindu warlike tribes and their recalcitrant behaviour; secondly the ineffective hold of the Sultans because of their defective system of administration. Lastly, the Rajput resistance rendered the process of Muslim colonisation slow and so insurgence could not be nipped in the bud. Hence, there was no peace in this region, as shall be evident from the account given in this chapter.

The second section of the present work which has been titled, Political is divided into several chapters - Conflict and Confrontation (1526-30), Struggle for Survival and the Re-establishment of the Afghan Power in Uttar Pradesh (1530-40), Interegnum (1540-56), Conquest and Consolidation (1556-

1605), Peace and Stability (1605-1627), Peace and Stability (1628-1659) and Reaction and Rebellions (1659-1707). In each chapter an account of the political events which took place in this region has been given. These political events were of great importance in the sense that they were indicative of the course of history through which this region was passing via a vis the trends and tendencies of the period. They also reflect the tussle between the regional and imperial forces. The sporadic outbreaks in this region during the long period extending from 1526 to 1707 also show that it was buzzing with political activities, which displayed the mood of the people and their reaction in favour or against the imperial policies. While narrating the events, every care has been taken to give a complete picture. At the same time effort has been made to analyse the causes of the political unrest and methods adopted to establish peace and order. It may be noted that wherever administrative measures appeared to fail sword was used to curb the rebellious activities of local chiefs.

The second section is devoted to the analysis of the pattern of administration of the region under review. It has been remarked earlier that in the pre-Akbar period no uniform administrative units existed in this region and therefore the central control over it remained loose and ineffective. From 1580 deliberate attempt was made to give this region a uniform system of administration. It was divided into Subahs, Sarkars

and parganas. In each administrative unit a heirarchy of officials was appointed to carry out day to day duties and to maintain effective control over the people. Thus, in this chapter an attempt has been made to present an elaborate account of the administration of the region. This chapter is based entirely on the information furnished by the contemporary and later sources.

The third section of the thesis is devoted to examining the pattern of Hindu-Muslim society, social life, dresses and standard of living and other aspects.

The next section is concerned with economic condition of the region under review. Here an attempt has been made to give an account of condition of agriculture and industries. As regards agriculture, in the beginning I have endeavoured to examine the area under cultivation, the measured area, the methods of cultivation, irrigation and irrigational methods, cash crops raised and then I have tried to give an account of the other agricultural products of this region. An account of forest wealth and produce, mines and minerals, floods, and famines, markets, transport, communication, trade and commerce, coins, weights and measures etc. From the economic point of view this region was of great importance. Its fertile soil, its rich mineral and forest wealth were all at the disposal of its people. And the people did not lag behind in utilising the gifts of nature. Primarily this region was agricultural but with the arrival of the Mughals and growth of urban popu-

lation there was gradual emergence of industrial economy. No wonder, the period saw the establishment of new cities and towns vis a vis new industrial centres and the centres of trade and commerce, the emergence of new classes in Hindu-Muslim society which played very important part in the economic sphere.

The fifth section deals with the religious condition of this region. In the beginning an account of the religion and religious sects of the Hindus has been given, and then attention has been focussed on the religion and religious sects of the Muslims of this region. Besides, an attempt has also been made here to examine the attitude of the Mughal emperors towards the non-Muslims of this region.

The next section has been exclusively devoted to education, learning and literature. In the Mughal period large number of centres of education and the educational institutions of the Muslims came into existence which promoted the cause of learning and education. In this section of my work I have endeavoured to present an account of the different agencies of education for the Muslims and Hindus, and then I have given the literary contribution of some of the scholars of this region both Hindu and Muslim. Despite frequent political convulsions during this period local scholars and poets continued to make decisive contribution in the literary sphere.

During the Mughal period large number of buildings were constructed throughout the length and breadth of this region

and these buildings are eloquent testimony of the elegant and lofty taste of their sponsors. Besides, being evidence of the glorious past these monuments are evidence of the achievements of the engineers and architects alike. The description of these monuments and buildings forms the theme of the seventh section of the present work.

The last chapter incorporates the conclusion and a comprehensive list of the source material. Like the earlier periods the Mughal regime also retained its lustre, glory and grandeur and preserved its distinct culture and unity. True that this region was inhabited by the multi-lingual, multi-racial and multi-religious population but it remained the meeting ground of conflict and coordination. Tolerance, absorption and assimilation were the characteristics of the people of this region and they retained them unmistakably. This region can boast of having produced some of the great thinkers, theologians, learned and pious, saints, scholars, administrators and warriors.

I am very much indebted to Fr. B.P. Saksena, Retired Professor and Head of the Department of Medieval and Modern History, University of Allahabad for his paternal affection, kindness, keen interest in the progress of my work and in inspiring me to undertake the present study.

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INTRODUCTION

The region under review is important and significant from the geographical and historical view point. It has been verily said that Uttar Pradesh is the heart and soul of India. It occupies a central position in northern India. It lies between $23^{\circ}.50'$ north $31^{\circ}.28'$ northern latitude and $77^{\circ}.4'$ and $84^{\circ}.38'$ eastern longitude. Its boundaries on the north, west, east and south have been defined by nature. On the north the Siwalik ranges and the great Himalayan mountainous zone and in the south the Vindhya ranges have demarcated its boundaries and it is surrounded by the states of Tibet, Nepal, Madhya Pradesh, the Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Rajasthan and Bihar. It covers a large area, perhaps the biggest area as compared to any of the states of the India Union, except Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Maharashtra. It is the fourth largest state of India. The entire region extending from the north to the east, west and south is not uniform in any sense but unique in its physical features. The entire region under review is divided into separate regions-the hilly region of the north, the open plain of the centre and the plateau region of the south west and south east. The northern region is chiefly hilly and mountainous and it covers an extensive area. These mountains have since time immemorial provided this region with natural defence, rich and dense forests and

mineral wealth. This region comprises of Uttaranchal, Jammu and

Ichon, Geb. nach 1. Jahr.

Arkhel, Inara district,

Minister, Chakraborty and Jyoti Ban

etc. Though from the political view point the mountainous region seldom influenced the course of history of this region of Uttar Pradesh in the period under review but its economic importance can not be ignored altogether. The Central region is covered by vast alluvial plain, extending from Saharanpur to Gorakhpur. There are two parts of this vast strip of land, the Shabar and the Tarai. The Shabar skirts the Siwalik hills and is covered by Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Ghaziabad, Bulandshahr, Mathura, Agra, Kanpur, Allahabad, Gorakhpur, Lucknow, Faizabad, Jaunpur, Patna, Bihar, etc.

ilibhit and Gorakhpur districts. This strip of land is mainly covered by dense forests and at places where it is covered by an open plain the land is fertile. Besides this strip, there runs another strip of land from north to the east in semicircular way. This strip of land is known as Parai. This region is covered by marshy tract, jungles, uneven land but at places the soil is very fertile. Now Parai is confined to a narrow strip running parallel to Dhabar, through Saharapur, Bijnor, Baintal, Rampur, Bareilly, Alibhit, Lakhimpur Kheri, Bahraich, Gonda, Basti, Gorakhpur, and Gorias district of Uttar Pradesh. As regards the Trans-Jamuna portions of Agra and Mathura districts are concerned, they are characterised by many ravines and hillocks, which terminated at Aravalli hills. The

slope of the Gangetic plain is from north to the south in the western region and from the north to the west in the eastern region. The entire region covered by Shahar or Farai is on the whole very important region. Its alluvial soil, marshy land, dense forests and jungles, uneven tracts, besides, the rich climate have made this region most prosperous and enviable. The southern region of Uttar Pradesh is covered by hills and plateaus. It comprises the four districts of the Bundelkhand division of Jhansi, Jalaun, Hamirpur and Banda, the districts of Meja and Barchana and the whole of Mirzapur district south of Banaras and the Chakia tansil of Benaras. Throughout this region there is variation of climate and weather. The mountainous zone is the coldest, the Farai area and other regions have moderate or tropical climate but the central and the southern region is extremely hot during the summer. Eastern part of Uttar Pradesh is generally moist except in cold weather.

The soil of the entire region covered by modern Uttar Pradesh varied from region to region. The northern most region covered by the hills and mountains have rocky and barren soil. In the period under review, in this region the population was at some places thin and in the other almost nil and the same holds true with regard to cultivation. Coming

to the central region we find different varieties of soil- alluvial, (barani) or new alluvial (khair), loess and patiyar etc. The loess or patiyar soil is covered by barani, shahar, lithar, tan, lithari, shahar, barani, loess, patiyar and lithar districts. Whereas alluvial, loess and other loess districts are covered by barani or black soil. In the lower loess area, the soil is mixed red and black. The same variety of soil is found in unalluvial region. Likewise, the soil of the districts of lithar, tahsils of barani, loess of alluvial district and chakra of barani district is shallow red. In the barani strip we mostly find swampy soil. Thus, some of the parts of Uttar Pradesh are more fertile and productive as compared to the rest. The fertility and productivity as compared to the rest. The fertility and productivity depended upon the soil itself. On the whole despite march of times, it still possesses great potentialities of agricultural and industrial production.

The most important rivers of Uttar Pradesh are Ganges, Jamuna, Baran, Gomti and Sharda. All these rivers emanate from the Himalayas and throughout the length and breadth of this region also flow their several tributaries. The tributaries of Jamuna are Chambal, Yamuna, etwa, son, ganga, joins Baran near annauj. Gomti rises in lithar and joins ganga beyond barani. The Sharda and Yamuna are the tributaries of Sharda. The other rivers of this region are son, ganga

Tons and on.

In the ancient times this region was known by various names- Pravarta and Malhya Desha - in Mahabharat and the Puranas. Since time immemorial the upper Gangetic plain of northern India always held distinct position. The early Aryans first settled in the region west of Yamuna and from 1000 B.C. they moved forward.

A SHORT HISTORY

OF

THE P.N.

The two great epics Mahabharat

and Ramayana speak about the

establishment of the Aryan

kingdoms in Meerut and Ayodhya. Mahabharat describes the contest between the Kurava and Pandyas, who lived in Hastinapur. And it seems that the Aryans came in different waves and settled down in the different parts of this region. Not going deep in the hoary past it may be recalled that it was this region which saw the growth of Hinduism, decline of Buddhism and rise and fall of many Hindu dynasties and kingdoms. The historical evidence speaks about the Mauryan rule over this region and the pious edicts of Ashoka have been found in the pillars of Ashoka at Allahabad and Benares and Kalsi in Behradun. The numismatic evidence tells us that the Panchals also ruled over this region and the Kushanas exercised their sway over it. The Gupta kings also are said to have exercised their authority over a part of this region. And later Kannauj became the capital of

and the ruler Khiviraj made it easier for the Muslims to materialise their aggressive designs in the region under review. The conqueror returned to Hazari, leaving Iltutmish with a large army to extend the conquests. After suppressing the rebellion of Jalauhar¹, Iltutmish crossed the Yamuna to establish the Muslim rule over Upper Doab. The greater part of the region under review was then either under the possession of the Khauwas or under the Khandela and Gorajputs². With the help of Jaisai, a Gorajput, Iltutmish conquered and occupied Meerut. After fortifying Meerut and making it as the base of his military operations Iltutmish occupied Meerut³. In 1194 Iltutmish is stated to have crossed the Yamuna a second time and captured Delhi. His operations against the Gorajputs in the upper Doab were clearly designed to prepare the way for the conquest and complete occupation of the region under review. The same year Muhammad Ghori marched with a large army from Hazari against Jai Chandra, the ruler of the Bahdaval kingdom of Kannauj. The two armies met in the

1. 'Comprehensive History of India', Vol. V, p.167; Dr. Shok Kumar Srivastava, op. cit. p. 54-55, 57.

2. 'Comprehensive History of India', Vol. V, p.167; Dr. Shok Kumar Srivastava, p. 59.

3. Minhaj, 'Tabakat-i-Nasiri' (trans) Vol. I, p. 215; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p.167; Dr. Shok Kumar Srivastava, op. cit. p. 58-59; Mizizi, 'Di Lark-e-Hind', p.

4. Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p.168; Dr. Shok Kumar Srivastava, op. cit. p. 70.

vicinity of Chankar, on the Jamuna between Annapur and Mathura¹. In this battle the Gahavalas led by Jai Chandra, were defeated and put to flight. Jai Chandra was killed. The victory in the battle of Anandwar placed fresh areas under the control of the Turkish forces. Sonaras, Asni and other towns of this region were occupied by the Turks². Shortly after the departure of Muhammad Ghori, the Jor Rajputs started the process of recuperation. They besieged the Turkish garrison in Sol. Bibak marched against them and compelled them to withdraw³.

Thereafter, during the next few years this region remained free from any fresh Turkish invasion. The country across the upper Ganges, hitherto unaffected by the Turkish operations in the Doab, in the ~~meanwhile~~ meanwhile gave shelter to large number of Gahavala Rajputs from the South. Balaon was then under the control of the Pashtunakutes. In 1197-98 A.D. Bibak conquered Balaon and recovered Sonaras from the

1. Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p.168; Dr. Ashok Kumar Srivastava, op. cit. p. 81-86; Vinhaj, Tabqat-i-Iasiri (Trans) Vol. I, p.515; Habibullah, op.cit.p.6 .

2. Vinhaj, Tabqat-i-Iasiri (Trans) Vol. I, p.627; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p.168; Dr. Ashok Kumar Srivastava, op. cit. p. 88-89.

3. Vinhaj, Tabqat-i-Iasiri (Trans) Vol. I, p.52-53; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 169; Dr. Ashok Kumar Srivastava, p. 96-97.

names of the Cholas¹. Next year, he conquered Nannaj². Hereafter, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Turkish forces were mobilised by Malik to conquer and occupy the rest of the portions of this region. We are told that the Turkish forces compelled Aravali Deva the Channella chief to surrender the fort of Malinjar³. About the same time Malinjar was also brought under the control of the Turkish authorities. Thus, by March 1206, the Turks had established their hold over a fairly large area of the region under review.

But the same region witnessed the renewal of the military activities of the Hindu chiefs against the Turks. The Channella king recovered Malinjar in 1206 and stopped the expansion of the Turkish authority towards South. In the Gangetic plain numerous Hindu chiefs began to defy the Turkish authority by raising the standard of rebellion. Among them one was Maharanka Pratapdeva of Japila. The Chandel chief Varish Chandra found means to establish himself in the districts of Farrukhabad and Balson⁴. Thus, the political situation remained unchanged from 1206 to 1210 A.D.

1. Habibullah, op. cit, p.67; Comprehensive History of India Vol. I, p.169; Dr. Ashok Kumar Privastava, op.cit,p.128.

2. Habibullah, op.cit, p. 67; Comprehensive History of India Vol. V, p.169; Dr. Ashok Kumar Privastava, op.cit,p.-28.

3. Habibullah, op.cit, p. 68; Comprehensive History of India Vol. V, p.170; Dr. Ashok Kumar Privastava, op.cit,p.131-38.

4. Dr. Ashok Kumar Privastava, op. cit, p. 140-41.

When Altutamish became the Sultan there were many attempts of resistance to the Muslim rule in this region. The Rajas continued to maintain their hold over Bharat, the Rajas over Malinjar and the Rajas over the district of ... and ... and the other Rajas over the rest of the region. In 1233-34 Malik Iqbal, the commander of the forces of ... and ... was ordered to proceed with ... army against Malinjar. ... is a ... of ... Ver ... Thereupon, ... freely plundered ... a number of ... but he could not conquer Malinjar. In the ... plain the Hindu aggression was checked. ... and ... were brought under the imperial control. In the eastern ... the ... Rajas retained their strong hold at ... (Polna). However, ... was conquered and occupied and the Turkish forces established and reestablished their hold on the region of the ... and ...

In the post-Altutamish period although there were many chances for the Rajas to recover their losses, but nothing was done by them to subvert the Muslim authority in this region. It may be pointed out that during the forty

1. ... Report-i-Iqbal (Trans) Vol. II, p. 733; ... p. 64; Edward Thomas, The Chronicles of the ... of Delhi, p. 55-60; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. I, p. 223.

six years of the rule of Sultan Alututamish, the process of Muslim colonisation in this region was so fast that the power of Hindu resistance became feeble.

During the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khalji, Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the Governor of Lakhnauti, occupied Warah, Anikpur and Wash and even the districts further north. And thus it appears that a fairly large area covered by the eastern districts of present Uttar Pradesh slipped away from the hands of the imperial authority. Consequently, the history of this region becomes more interesting. We find the Governors of Bengal very often entering this region with their forces. For example Iltutmish Khan led his troops to Warah and occupied the city for two weeks and declared his independence. Towards the end of 1259 Arsalan Khan, the Governor of Warah suddenly advanced on Lakhnauti and taking advantage of Iltutmish's absence seized the capital. On the other hand we find Turkish Generals mobilising their forces to deal with the recalcitrant Hindu chiefs. Samud Khan, the Governor of Warah led several expeditions against the rising Bahela power in that area. In 1246-47 Balban himself led a strong force against the Hindu chiefs, whom Minhaj calls Jalaki-Malaki. Balban plundered a portion of his territory and

captured his strong hold. In the north and south when the Hindus adopted a defensive attitude, Balban led an army, crossed the ranges and advanced up to Bijoor and Gardar as far as Samanra. The Kathariya Rajputs offered resistance and then withdrew. Likewise, Achlu Khan the Governor of Meerut, about this time reduced a portion of Rohilkhand.¹

During the later part of the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud anarchical conditions prevailed in most parts of this region. In the north and south roads were poor and infested with robbers.² The Hindu peasants were in perpetual^a rebellion. The Kathariya Rajputs had boldly extended their depredations to Saman and Amroha. Since the trans-Gangetic tract had not been completely occupied by the Muslims, the Rajput ruling families took refuge there and began their rebellious activities. ~~The~~ The district of Farrukhabad, Azil and Etahli became the chief centres of rebellion.³ Upon his accession to the throne Balban turned his attention towards this region, where the life of the people was totally insecure. In order to deal with the rebels effectively he divided the entire area into assignments and placed it under energetic

1. Vinhaj, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (Irans) Vol. II, p. 594; Habibullah, op. cit., p. 149-50.

2. Yahya, "Farikh-i-Mubarak Shahi" (Irans) p. 34 Habibullah, op. cit., p. 158.

3. Barani, Farikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Mizivi, M.B., p. 165; Yahya, op. cit., p. 38 Habibullah, op. cit., p. 159.

officers. We are told that these officers carried on relentless drive against the insurgents and within no time order was restored. Later, Balban himself remained for a year in the neighbourhood of Rampil and Atiali to clear the highways and construct new roads. To ensure their safety he erected military outposts at Thojpur, Atiali and Rampil and placed the ^I Afghan troops there. The old fort of Jalali was also repaired in 1266 ².

While Balban was still busy in this region news arrived of fresh aggression by the Wateharyas on Jajoon and Amroha. He immediately returned to Delhi and then after assembling a large army suddenly appeared before Watehar. "A body of five thousand archers was detailed to plunder and set fire to the habitat of the insurgents and to slay the whole adult male population. The punishment was inhumanly severe and calculated to strike terror; Arani records how at every village and jungle heaps of human corpses lay rotting, the stench poisoning the air as far as the eye sees. The district was almost depopulated, but the measure served its purpose." Thereafter, the Wateharyas never raised their head. During the rest period of the reign of Balban, it seems that there

1. Arani (AFKB) p. 165 Yahya, op. cit, p.38 Habibullah, op. cit, p. 161; Comprehensive History of India, p.278.

2. Arani (AFAB) p. 164-65; Habibullah, op. cit, p.160.

was peace in this region, which did not create any trouble for the imperial authority of Delhi.^I

In the post-Balban period, only a few events took place in the region under review. Amongst the most important ~~important~~ event was the meeting of Sultan Ala-ud-din with his father Buzurg Khan at Jyodhya.²

Early in the reign of Sultan Jalaluddin Firuz Shah Khalji Malik Khajju raised the banner of rebellion (Aug-Sep 1290)³ at Kara. It is related that a large number of sewaks and amirs joined his standards. Amir Ali Tahir, the governor of Kara also extended him military assistance and his unflinching support. A large number of Jalali amirs, like Malik Fajuddin Muzhi, Malik Muhammad Kutub Khan and Malik Buzarat Khan also supported him. Being confident of his success he declared his independence and assumed the title of Sultan Khushaisuddin, struck coins and got the khutaba recited in his name. Thereafter, he marched towards Delhi to occupy the throne. But Sultan Jalaluddin Firuz Shah Khalji picked up the gauntlet and marched with a large army

1. Minhaj, Jabqat-i-Nasiri (Trans) Vol. II, p. 736-7; Barani (AKB) p. 165; Habibullah, op.cit, p. 179-80; Comprehensive History of India Vol. V, p. 279.

2. Barani (AKB) p. 221-222; Habibullah, op. cit, p. 179-80; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 307-308;

3. Barani, Parikh-i-Firuz Shahi, vizivi, AKB, p. 5-6, Yahiya, op. cit, p. 59; Dr. K.C. Lal, 'The history of the Khaljis' p. 22-23; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 313-14; Edward Thomas, History of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, p. 143;

to put down the rebellion of Malik Chajju. After crossing the Yamuna, the Sultan divided his forces. One part of the army was sent in advance under the command of Arkali Khan and the other proceeded under his own command. By forced marches Arkali Khan arrived on the bank of the river Salabna. By this time the enemy had reached the opposite bank and seized the boats. Despite this, Arkali Khan managed to cross the river and fell upon the enemy. The soldiers of Malik Chajju who formed the van-guard of his army were taken by surprise and they were completely routed. Malik Chajju fled towards Choupala. Thereafter, the imperial troops plundered his camp for two days and then marched in hot pursuit of him. At length, Malik Chajju somehow collected his scattered soldiers and fought a battle with Arkali Khan. The whole day the battle continued. In the evening, when Malik Chajju heard that the Sultan was himself coming to join Arkali Khan, he lost heart. He broke and fled away in dismay. His troops surrendered themselves and were pardoned.¹

It is related that it was Bairam Joo Moela, the Hindu chief of Aol (Aligarh) who had informed Malik Chajju that the Sultan's army was following to join Arkali Khan. Consequently, when Arkali Khan learnt about this fact he

I. Sarani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Mizivi, AAS, p.6-8;
Yahiya, op. cit, p. 59 Edward Thomas, op. cit, p. 143-144;
Dr. K.C.Lal, The History of the Khaljis, p. 24; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 314-316.

crossed the Kali Nahar and attacked Aligarh. Fairam Deo was killed in an action. Then, Arkali Khan began the pursuit of Malik Chajju. At last the rebel was captured. Rushed with success, Arkali Khan returned to join his father.

Meanwhile, Sultan Ala-ud-din Iltutmish, son of Iltutmish, who was following his father's policy, reached Hujur in the Farrukhabad district. After staying there for some time he crossed the Ganges and ruthlessly punished some of the Hindus of Rohilkhand (Barabar).² Hereafter, he returned to Badaun, where he was joined by his son Arkali Khan, who had arrived there with the rebels, to produce the latter before the Sultan. What happened thereafter is well known. After sending Malik Chajju to Sultan, Sultan assigned the government of Kara to his nephew Ala-ud-din. A little later he returned from Badaun to Delhi (2nd Feb. 1291).

When Ala-ud-din became the Governor of Kara, conditions were no better in the regions round it. The disgruntled nobles at Kara were seething with rebellious tendencies. In order to improve the situation, Ala-ud-din recruited an army. To divert the energies of the nobles into other channels he

1. Mr. Yahya, op. cit, p. 60. Dr. K.S.Lal, 'The History of the Khaljis', p. 24.

2. Dr. K.S.Lal, "The History of the Khaljis" p. 25.

adopted an aggressive policy and undertook an expedition to Bilha and Jevgiri. After returning back to Kara in June 1296, he laid down a trap for his uncle in which the latter was caught unawares and murdered on 20th July 1296. After performing this ghastly deed, Alauddin declared himself Sultan. Then he marched towards the capital Delhi to occupy the throne and seized the sceptre of authority. On the way he collected soldiers from the region under review and then arrived at Delhi, where he ascended the throne on 20th October 1296. After this date, the centre of political activity of Alauddin Khalji shifted from Kara to Delhi.

During the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khalji the extensive region covered by present Uttar Pradesh enjoyed complete peace. His firmness, stern rule and administrative reforms did not give any opportunity to the nobles and people alike to raise their head. Even during the reign of Alauddin Khusrau Shah Khalji and Khusrau Shah no political event of far reaching consequence took place in this region.

The same holds true with regard to the rule of the Tughlaq sovereigns over this region. During the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq conditions in this region remained peaceful. And during the first part of the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq there was hardly any trouble in the provinces of Badaon, Awadh and Kannauj or in the places such as Lucknow, Zafarabad, Bahraich, Amroha, Bijnaur, Kol etc. Nor did the ambitious Sultan introduce his ambitious

projects in this region, which could have affected the normal life of the people of this region. It was in the second period of his reign that a few events of great consequence took place in this region. In 1334 there was a severe famine in the South on account of the failure of monsoon¹. This was followed by the rebellion of Lizam Khan Gain in 1338 at Kara. It is related that the forasaid noble had undertaken to farm the revenue of Kara, for several lakhs of tankas, but could not pay one tenth of the amount which he had promised². He thus raised the banner of rebellion, declared his independence and assumed the title of Alauddin. Upon this Min-ul-ulk the Governor of Madh and Aharabad and his brother Chakrullah marched against him. The rebellion of Gain was suppressed. The rebel was flayed alive and his skin was sent to Delhi³. Thereafter, the iqta of Kara was assigned to Chakhzada Sustami⁴. The other event was the rebellion of Min-ul-Mulk the Governor of Aharabad and Lucknow in 1340⁵.

1. Agha Mahdi Hasan, 'Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughlaq', p. 148-50; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 525-26; Rizvi, Tughlaq Kalin Bharat, Vol. I, p. 40-41;

2. Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 533; Rizvi, op. cit., p. 54-55, 57, 165-166.

3. Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 533.

4. Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 533; Rizvi, op. cit., p. 57, 365; Agha Mahdi Hasan, op. cit. p. 167.

5. Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 534-35; Rizvi, op. cit. p. 55-57; 346-7; 355-365; Agha Mahdi Hasan, op. cit., p. 166.

During the long reign of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq, it seems that this region on the whole enjoyed peace and tranquility. Firuz Shah established a few important towns, viz. Multapur-i-uluk-nagut, Fughlaqpur asna, Firuzabad Hari-nira and Firuzpur in this region. The first was situated on the banks of Saraswati, the second was founded near the confluence on the road from Meerut to Haridwar, the third near Hara and the last somewhere near Sambhal and Batehar or near the village of Siyuli.¹ It is related that in 1378 Sai Charku a leading amir of Batehar treacherously murdered Sayyid Muhammad, the governor of Badaon and his two brothers. Finding the situation uncontrollable, Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq marched with a large army towards Badaon, killed the recalcitrant Hindu chiefs and many innocent Hindus. Sai Charku fled into the hills of Badaon, whither the Sultan pursued him. But he could not be traced.² This was the only event of significance which took place during the later part of the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlaq.

After the death of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq, the empire headed towards decline, degeneration and downfall. The weak successors of the late Sultan could not hold the

1. Mizivi, op. cit, Vol. II, p. 77-78.

2. Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 617-19; Mizivi, Fughlaq Nalin Bharat, Vol. II, p. 347-48.

sceptre and the provincial governors taking advantage of the weaknesses of the Central power declared their independence and laid the foundation of the independent dynasties. In 1394, since a rebellion of the Hindu zamindars of Jaunpur and Bihar was seen in the offing Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud deputed Malik Sarwar Khwaja Jahan to suppress the rebellion. The Sultan granted him the title of Sultan-us-Shara and sent him towards the east for the foresaid purpose.¹ He chastised the rebels of Awadh, Nol and Mannauj and then recovered the lands of Awadh, Mannauj, Pandila, Balmau, Ahraich, Bihar and Firiht from the hands of the rebels and repaired the forts which the rebels had destroyed. In this manner Malik Sarwar intrigued with the rebels and seized a vast territory stretching from the suburbs of Delhi to Bihar. Malik Sarwar established himself at Jaunpur, which he made the capital of his ~~king~~ kingdom and declared his independence. Thus, fairly a large portion of the territory of Uttar Pradesh became a part of the Sharqi Kingdom of Jaunpur.²

A few years later a part of this region heard the noise of the hoofs of the horses of Amir Timur. After the

1. Fahiya, 'Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi' (Rizivi, Lucknow Kalin Bharat) Vol. II, p. 215; Fabwat-i-Akbari (Rizivi, Uttar Ksh Paimur Kalin Bharat) Vol. I, p. 56; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 623.

2. Fahiya, 'Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi' (Rizivi, PNB) Vol. II, p. 216; Dr. K.S. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 9-10; Rizivi, Uttar Paimur Kalin Bharat, Vol. I, p. 4; Edward Thomas, op. cit., p. 307.

conquest and occupation of Delhi in December 1399, Amir Timur went to Swat and from Swat he set out for Deerut. Passing through the villages of Chakpat and Usar, he arrived at Deerut, where the Muslim commanders, Iyas Afghan and Ahmad Khaneshwari aided by Hindu chieftain Rai Jasi resisted the invader.¹ Amir Timur besieged the fortress and captured it on 7th January 1399. From Deerut Amir Timur marched ahead and arrived at Auphla pur, where he learnt that the Hindus had rallied round a Muslim chief named Subarak Khan to offer him uncompromising resistance. He defeated the opponents and on his return march when he reached Saraiwar he was called upon to face the Hindu opposition. With a handful of troops he fought two battles with the Hindus and defeated them completely.² With great difficulty he was able to return to his own country. Thus, other regions, except the western region of Uttar Pradesh remained unaffected by Timur's invasion.

On Timur's departure, Nosir-ud-din Loharat Shah, who during the invasion had escaped into the Doab, now finding the field clear decided to make a bid for the throne. Encouraged by Adil Khan of Deerut, he occupied

1. Faliya, Tarikh-i-Subarak Shahi (UPKB) Vol. I, p.3;
Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p.31-34;
Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p.623;

2. Comprehensive History of India, Vol V, p.624-25;
Dr.K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p.32.

Viruzabad and sent Shihab Khan of Awadh against Mallu Iqbal Khan, who was at Varanasi. Shihab was defeated and killed by Mallu Iqbal Khan with the help of the Hindu zamindars of the Doab. Thereafter, Mallu Iqbal Khan proceeded towards Delhi in Jan. 1399. By this time Asiruddin Husarat Shah had died and thus Delhi easily passed into the hands of Mallu Iqbal Khan.²

In 1400, the condition of the region under review was like this. A fairly large portion from the borderlands of Bihar to Banaraj, which comprised Samailah, Balmau, Bara, Awadh, Bahraich, Jaunpur was under Subarak Shah Oranval, the adopted son of Shwaja Bahar. Alpi was under Mahmud Khan son of Malikzade Viruz. The rest of the territory was either into the hands of the Hindu zamindars or in the hands of the Muslim chiefs, who either paid tribute to Delhi or to Jaunpur.

With Delhi in his hands Mallu Iqbal Khan became keen to recover the lost territory of the Delhi Sultanat. He invaded Katchhar, exacted tribute from Rai Vira Singh and then

1. Yahya, Farikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (U.F.K.) Vol. 1, p.3; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 626; Dr. K.S.Lal, op. cit., p. 31-32;

2. Yahya, Farikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (U.F.K.) Vol. 1, p.4; Dr. K.S.Lal, op. cit., p.34; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 626.

returned to Delhi.¹ In 1400-1401 he left for Kannauj a dependency of the Sharqi Kingdom of Jaunpur.² On the way he was joined by Shams Khan Suhadi, Mubarak Khan and Bahadur Khan of Awat. When he reached Patiali he was opposed by Sai Jumer Singh of Bawah and other seigniors of the vicinity.³ But Jumer was defeated. He retreated to Bawah and Iqbal Khan resumed his march. His plan was to conquer Kannauj and then march to occupy Lu know and Jaunpur.⁴ But Mubarak Shah Sharqi checked his advance at Kannauj, where he had arrived with his army.⁵ However at length Mallu Iqbal Khan returned to Delhi and the Sharqi king returned to Jaunpur.

It is related that after restoring Sultan Mahmud on the throne of Delhi, Mallu Iqbal Khan again made an attempt to bring the region under review under imperial power.⁶ In company of Sultan Mahmud, he started for Kannauj in 1402.

1. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p.5; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 56; Dr. K.S.Lal, op,cit, p.44-45; Edward Thomas, op, cit, p.320.

2. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol.I,p.5; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p.56; Vol. II, p.5; Dr.K.S.Lal, op. it, p.44-45.

3. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p.5; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 47;

4. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p.5; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 57-59; Dr.K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 47.

5. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol, I, p.5; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol.I,p.59; Vol. II, p.5; Dr.K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 47;

6. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p.6; Dr.K.S.Lal Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 48.

during the course of the campaign, Sultan Ahmad played treacherous role, left Ballu's side and occupied Kannauj for himself. Thus, Ballu had to return empty handed. Three years later in April 1405, when he returned to dislodge Sultan Ahmad from there he could not succeed and after fighting a few battles had to withdraw in dismay. After the death of Ballu Iqbal Khan, the leading nobles of Delhi invited Sultan Ahmad and installed him on the throne in December 1405². After his accession to the throne Sultan Ahmad sent the family of Ballu Iqbal Khan to Gol, appointed Daulat Khan as Governor of the Doab and Ikhtiyaruddin as the Governor of Miruzabad³. Next year, when Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi marched to take possession of Kannauj, he was strongly opposed by Sultan Ahmad⁴. Ultimately the two monarchs had to withdraw to their respective capitals. In 1406-7 finding that Sultan Ahmad, the ruler of Delhi was amidst great difficulties, Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi

1. Yahya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p.6-7; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 58; Vol. II, p.5; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p.50-53.

2. Yahya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi(UTKB) Vol. I, p.8; Vol. II, p. 5; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p.53; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 627.

3. Yahya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol.I,p.8; Vol.II, p.5; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p.627.

4. Yahya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol.I, p.9; Vol.II, p. 5; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p.54-55; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p.627.

marched with a large army towards Delhi. He wrested Kannauj¹ and then leaving it in the hands of Ikhtiyar Khan, grand son of Malik Jauhat Sar Khan of Sampil, he marched towards Sambhal. He occupied the place and then resumed his march and arrived on the banks of Jamuna. He was about to cross the Jamuna when he received the news that Jafar Khan of Gujarat was marching to invade Jaunpur. Without wasting time he returned in haste to save Jaunpur.² Learning of his retreat, Jafar Khan did not proceed further. But Sultan Mahmud took full advantage of the situation. He defeated and killed Malik Jauhat in April 1408 at Baran and then proceeded towards Sambhal and recaptured it.³

A little before the death of Sultan Mahmud in October 1412, Khizr Khan succeeded in obtaining the support of Rai Vira Singh of Katehar and Bahabat Khan of Badaon.⁴ It was about this time that Ibrahim Sharqi besieged Adir Khan son of Mahmud Khan at Kalpi. However, after the death of Sultan Mahmud, Khizr Khan invaded Delhi and occupied the throne on 4th June 1414.

1. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p.9; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 59; Vol. II, p. 15. Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 628.

2. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 9; Vol. II, p. 15; Dr. K.C.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 56-57; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. I, 628;

3. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p.9; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p.60; Dr. K.C.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 57; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 628;

4. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p.9; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 60; Dr. K.C.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 59.

with the accession of Iltutmish Khan on the throne of Delhi a new period started in the history of this region. The whole "of western Uttar Pradesh, accustomed to rebellion for more than a decade, hardly paid any revenue". Consequently, like Ballu Iqbal Khan Iltutmish Khan also decided to re-establish the imperial authority over this part of Uttar Pradesh. Shortly after his accession Iltutmish Khan sent his wazir Tajul Mulk Tughlaq against Rai Viram Singh of Katehar (Chhilkhand).¹ Crossing the Jamuna near Ahar, situated between Bundelkhand and Moradabad and Ganga at the ford of Barha, Tajul Mulk entered Katehar, pillaged the countryside and compelled Viram Singh to pay taxes and tribute.² After bringing the Hindu chief to submission Tajul Mulk marched towards Badaon, where he reduced Mahabat Khan to submission.³ From there marching by the side of River Bahab, he crossed the Ganges at the ford of Saragdwari and entered Farrukhabad district. Turning westward he fought the Lamindar of Khor and Lamail⁴ and then proceeded to Saket, Saket and Madham. His speedy movements compelled Hasan Khan,

1. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 15; Tahqiqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 64; Dr. A. S. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 73; But Comprehensive history of India has Rai Har Singh, See, Vol. 7, p. 636;

2. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 15; Tahqiqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 64; Dr. A. S. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 73; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. 7, p. 636-7.

3. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 15; Tahqiqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 64; Dr. K. S. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 74; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 637.

4. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 15-17; Dr. K. S. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 74; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 637;

an amir of apri and his brother alikh namza to join him. We are told that a little later he wrested Jalesar from the hands of the amindar of Chandwar and he handed it over to the muslims who formerly held it. Thereafter, Faj-ul-Mulk turned towards the east. He invaded Awah, which was then in the hands of Rai Sumar, and it seems that after reducing him and realising from him tribute he returned to Delhi.¹ It is true that the Wazir performed a herculean task of reducing the hindu chiefs to submission and realising the tribute from them, but the central structure had become so weak to maintain its hold over them. Undisturbed and unalarmed by the moves from Delhi, the local rajas and the amindars of the western region of Uttar Pradesh continued to enjoy independence. No sooner did Faj-ul-Mulk turn his back than, the local chiefs and amindars again withheld tribute. Dr. H.S.Lal has rightly remarked that "they had learnt the trick of bowing before a transitory storm, and then to resume their old ways."² However, Khizr Khan decided to concentrate his attention on the region of Katehar (Rohilkhand) and Awah. In 1416-17 Wazir Faj-ul-Mulk was again sent towards Katehar to reduce the hindu chiefs

1. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol.I, p.16; Fabwat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol.I, p.64; Dr. H.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p.74; Comprehensive History of India, Vol.V, p. 637;

2. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol.I, p.16-17; Fabwat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol.I, p.64; Dr. H.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 75.

to submission. He again entered Aitchur, exacted tribute from Viram Singh and then returned to Delhi. At later, Viram Singh taking advantage of the rebellion in the Punjab, rose in rebellion in Aitchur in 1418. Upon this Hizr Khan again ordered the azir to march against Viram Singh and reduce him to submission. The latter prepared himself for the worst. It is related that he laid waste his own country and escaped to Sonla in the Arun hills. Unable to deal with Viram Singh, the azir ravaged and plundered Bohilkhand and then proceeded towards Jwahar.² He crossed the Ganges at the ford of Bijlana and then besieged Jwahar. While pressing the siege with vigour, azir Taj-ul-Mulk looted and plundered the suburbs of Jwahar and compelled Rai Bumer to conclude peace by giving tribute.³ But this policy of repression did not yield rich dividend. Within six months of the return of azir to Delhi, trouble again started in the western region of Uttar Pradesh.

1. Yahiya, Farikh-i-Mubarak Jahi (UPM) Vol. I, p.18; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UPAB) Vol. I, p.66. Dr. A.L. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 78; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 638;

2. Yahiya, Farikh-i-Mubarak Jahi (UPKB) Vol. I, p.18; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UPAB) Vol. I, p.66; Dr. A.L. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p.78; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 638.

3. Yahiya, Farikh-i-Mubarak Jahi (UPKB) Vol. I, p. 18+20; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UPAB) Vol. I, p.67; Dr. A.L. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p.78; Comprehensive History of India, has the Sabir, See, Vol. V, p. 638.

Upon this Khizr Khan himself was compelled to march to suppress the recalcitrant Hindu chiefs of that region.^I No doubt that he succeeded in suppressing them for the time being but the problem remained unchanged. His policy of continued repression compelled the Hindu chiefs of Mathur, Etawah and Gadaon to rise in rebellion again and again.

In 1418 Khizr Khan marched towards Aol to chastise the Hindu rebels. He chastised the people of Aol and then combed the region of Mathur and Sambhal. In January 1419 he proceeded towards Gadaon and laid siege to it. He invested the fort for next six months but without any success. Next month, Taj-ul-Mulk was sent to the western region to collect the revenue and tribute and reduce the local chiefs and zamindars to submission. Marching through and sacking Mathur, Aol and Jeoli, Taj-ul-Mulk arrived at Etawah. He plundered the people and then opened the siege to the fort of Etawah. Upon this Rai Sumer paid the tribute. Ghandwar was also plundered by the wazir and tribute was realised from Viram Singh of Mathur and Mahabat Khan of Gadaon. It seems that as a result of Taj-ul-Mulk's activities and campaigns in this region, there was no trouble in the western regions of Uttar Pradesh during the next two years. In 1421, Khizr Khan himself

I. Fabwat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 66; Dr. A. A. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 76; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 638.

proceeded to Awarah by this time al-umar had died and his son Isha al had succeeded his father. Upon the approach of al-hizr Khan Isha al purchased peace on the terms of usual payment of revenue.¹

The foregoing account thus makes it clear that upto 1421 rebellious tendencies were ripe in the western region of Uttar Pradesh and the imperial government found it difficult to cope with the situation.

After the death of al-hizr Khan in 1421 trouble started breaking again in the same region. al-hizr Khan's death provided a golden opportunity to the Hindu chiefs and zamindars of this region to defy the imperial authority and withhold tribute. And indeed it was an uphill task for the successor of al-hizr Khan, Mubarak Shah to deal with the situation effectively. Incidentally it may be pointed out that for a year and half since Mubarak Shah's accession, his attention had remained concentrated on the Punjab, where Jasrath Chokar had raised the banner of rebellion. This gave an opportunity to the Rajas and Zamindars of western Uttar Pradesh to create fresh trouble. After dealing with the rebellion of Jasrath Chokar, Mubarak

1. Yahiya, Farikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. 1, p.18-20; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. 1, p. 66-67; Dr. A. A. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 78-79.

Shah marched into Mathura in the beginning of 1423 and began to realise the revenue and tribute at the point of sword.¹ Mahanath Khan of Madan who had defied Shizr Khan during the latter part of his reign, offered submission and joined Mubarak Shah in his campaign in this region.² They crossed the Ganges and ravaged the territory of the Mathurs, putting a large number of them to sword.³ The activities of the imperialists alarmed Deva Rai so much that he deserted the Sultan and fled to Mathura to take refuge there. He successfully defended the town against Malik Muhammad Tughlaq, brother of Sikandar Tughlaq, who had been sent to conquer and occupy Mathura. Deva Rai won him over and agreed to pay tribute. Upon this Muhammad Tughlaq raised the siege and withdrew. Shortly after, Mubarak Shah also withdrew to Delhi.⁴

1. Yahiya, Farikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTMB) Vol. I, p.26; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTAB) Vol. I, p. 71; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p.101; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 644.

2. Yahiya, Farikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTMB) Vol. I, p.26; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTAB) Vol. I, p. 71; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 101; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 644.

3. Yahiya, Farikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTAB) Vol. I, p. 27; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTAB) Vol. I, p. 71; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 644.

4. Yahiya, Farikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTMB) Vol. I, p.27; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTAB) Vol. I, p.71; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 644.

In the winter of 1424 Iubarak Shah again marched towards Jathar to realise the arrears of tribute and revenue. In order to punish its ruler Iubarak Shah plundered the country as far as the foot of the Arun hills and compelled Jalal Singh to pay three year's arrears of tribute.¹ He then descended into Doab but a famine and scarcity of provisions compelled him to withdraw² to Nowat.² In April 1427 he again advanced and realised tribute from the Hindu chief of Chandwar. Thereafter, he returned to Delhi.³ A little later, it seems trouble broke out in Shahjahan and therefore Iubarak Shah had to send Malik Naqbul to suppress the rebellion there.⁴

Hardly the trouble had subsided in Shahjahan, than fresh trouble broke out in the western regions of Uttar Pradesh on account of Muhammad Khan Suhali, who reoccupied the fort of Bayana and brought Ibrahim Shah Charsi the ruler

1. Yahiya, Farikh-i-Iubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 29; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 72. Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 646;

2. Yahiya, Farikh-i-Iubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 29; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 72; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 646.

3. Yahiya, Farikh-i-Iubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 30; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 647.

4. Yahiya, Farikh-i-Iubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 31; Barishta, Mulshah-i-Ibrahimi (UTKB) Vol. II, p. 16; Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 105-6.

of the hundi kingdom of Jaunpur against Sultan Mubarak Shah. Under the existing set of circumstances Ibrahim Shah Chauri decided to wrest the doab. He prepared an elaborate scheme. In the south his target was Kalpi and in the north Badaon. No sooner did he learn that Mubarak Shah was marching towards Dayana to recover the fort than he marched towards Kalpi to conquer and occupy it. Earlier than the Governor of Kalpi informed Mubarak Shah about the movements of Ibrahim Shah towards Kalpi. Upon this, Mubarak Shah at once turned towards south west to meet Ibrahim Shah Chauri to checkmate his schemes of conquering Kalpi and gain to the assistance of Munam Khan Bahadur of Dayana. Before he could do so Ibrahim Shah Chauri entered the Doab and sacked Badaon. Mubarak Shah by forced marches arrived at Pappal and sacked Jartauli and reached Bhatnagar near Aligarh. Meanwhile, Ibrahim Shah Chauri continued to advance with his army along the banks of Kalindi and reached Murhanabad in the district Bawana. From the other side Mubarak Shah marched from Bhatnagar in his pursuit. But Ibrahim Shah avoided giving battle and moved to Kapri. Crossing the Jamuna at the ford of Harana he succeeded in reaching Dayana. Mubarak Shah pursued him closely and on 24th March, 1428 fought an indecisive battle at Mundwar and compelled him to withdraw to his own kingdom. Thus, Ibrahim Shah Chauri could not establish his hold either on Kalpi or on Badaon, or

any part of the coast.

After the murder of Mubarak Shah, his adopted son and nephew Muhammad was immediately raised to the throne by Bazir Jarwarul ulk. Immediately after, Muhammad Shah's accession trouble started in western Uttar Pradesh. Malik Allaudad Khalaji, the Governor of Sarhind and Sirhan, Aliyan Chaman an Amir of Lachnan and others raised the banner of rebellion to overthrow the yoke of the imperial power. The Bazir who himself controlled political power sent Kamal-u-Daulat Sayyid Khan, and Baharan and others to suppress the rebels. He also sent his own son Malik Yusuf to keep a close watch over Kamal-ul-Daulat. But the latter was shrewd enough to understand the game of treacherous Bazir. He marched out in April 1434 and arrived at Sirhan. There he entered into secret negotiations with the rebel amirs and invited Malik Allaudad and Chaman to join him and within no time he turned the tables upon his rival. We do not know as to how Malik Allaudad and Chaman laid down their arms. However, this much is certain that after the fall of Jarwarul ulk, there was complete peace in the western Uttar Pradesh during the remaining period of the reign of Sultan

I. Yahya, Farikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 31-33; Tarqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 74; Vol. II, p. 6; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 648; Dr. K. S. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 106-7;

Muhammad Shah.¹

After the death of Muhammad Shah in 1445 A.D. his son Alauddin Alam Shah ascended the throne.² In 1445 the tract from Saheli near Mathura to Larai Lasp near Delhi was in the hands of Ahmad Khan Rawati, while on the west side the territory from Sambhal up to the ford of Ahwaja Khizr was in the hands of Bariya Khan Lodi. Kol was in the hands of Isa Khan Sur bachcha, Apri, handwar and Bawah were held by Utb Khan son of Hasan Khan Afghan. Bagan, Jampil and Atiali were under Rai Pratap Singh. Thus, fairly large area was either under the control of local chiefs or under the charge of king of Jaunpur. It is interesting to note that two important chiefs, Utb Khan and Rai Pratap now began to figure in the imperial politics. In 1447 A.D. when Bahlol Lodi marched to Delhi and invested Siri, both Utb Khan and Rai Pratap intervened and persuaded him to withdraw. Bahlol's invasion so much unnerved the Sultan that he left Delhi for Badaon for a short time.³

1. Yahiya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (UPKB) Vol. I, p. 52; Tabqat-i-Akbari (UPKB) Vol. I, p. 83; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 660; Dr. K.L.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 115-116.

2. Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 662; Dr. K.L.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 123;

3. Tabqat-i-Akbari (UPKB) Vol. I, p. 200; Dr. K.L.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 123, 124-128; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 662-663;

At length, he established two courts, one at Delhi and other at
Lahore. Thus Lahore assumed importance. Besides, it may also
be pointed out, that in future the Sultan began to consult
frequently with Khan and Rai Pratap in matters of state. In
1451 the change of political climate compelled Iqbaluddin
Khan to step down from the throne of Delhi and leave Delhi
for Ajmer. He however reconciled himself with Lahore
and its neighbouring district. Khan Shah's little kingdom
consisted of Lahore and the neighbouring districts as far as
Ajmer, Bikaner and the foot of the Aravalli hills. He continued
to read the shutaba in his own name in this region for the
next twenty eight years till his death in 1478. ...I

During the Sayyid regime there are two prominent features noticeable in the region under review. Firstly, the emergence of the local chiefs and the expansion of their power and secondly, the growth of the Afghan population in this region.

Shortly after his accession to throne of Delhi, Sultan Bahlol Lodi decided to establish his hold over the region covered by Uttar Pradesh. After giving a good set back to Sultan Mahmud Shah Bhargal and compelling him to withdraw

1. Fabqat-i-Akbari (UTMB) Vol. 1, p. 202; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 663; Dr. A. N. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 135;

to Jaunpur, he went to Baran, where Dariya Khan Lodi, the governor of Lambhal offered submission and gave him seven parganas in present. At Mol Isa Khan, at Burhanabad, Mubarak Khan the governor of Saket and at Bhogaon, Rai Pratap promised allegiance and they were left with their territories. At Napri, Bahlol Lodi was called upon to face a little resistance. Qutb Khan son of Hasan Khan shut himself up in the fort and offered resistance. Bahlol conquered the fort of Napri pardoned Qutab Khan and restored him his Jagirs. Etawah also submitted without any resistance.

Sultan Bahlol Lodi's advance up to Etawah brought him into clash with Mahmud Shah Sharqi, the king of Jaunpur. Goaded by his wife Bibi Razi, Mahmud Shah Sharqi came to Etawah to fight Bahlol Lodi once again. After a day's battle, Qutb Khan and Rai Pratap Singh intervened and brought about a truce between the rival parties. One of the important terms of the treaty was that after the rainy season Bahlol Lodi would take Shamshabad from the hands of Malik Juna, who was

1. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 203; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 676-77, Dr. K.S. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 135;

2. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 203; Dr. K.S. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 137; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V. p. 676-77;

3. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) I, p. 203-4; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V. p. 677; Dr. K.S. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 137-38;

holding it on behalf the Sultan of Jaunpur. The last term of the treaty became a cause of another conflict between Sultan Bahlol Lodi and Mahmud Shah. Bahlol wrote to Malik Juna to vacate Shamshabad, which he refused to do. Upon this, Bahlol forcibly took possession of it and gave it to Rai Haran. At this Sultan Mahmud marched to Shamshabad with his army in 1456 A.D. In the conflict which ensued Qutb Khan was made prisoner by the Sharqi army¹ and before a full fledged conflict could take place Sultan Mahmud died. Thereafter, peace was concluded and the opposite parties withdrew to their respective capitals.²

Bahlol had not yet been able to reach Delhi than his wife Chams Mahatun, who was also the sister of Qutb Khan exhorted him to take the field again and secure his release from the custody of the Sharhis. Consequently, Bahlol returned from Jankaur to march to Jaunpur. Upon this the new king Muhammad Shah also returned to meet him in the field of

1. Fabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 203; Tarikh-i-Jaudi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 249; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 677.

2. Fabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 203; Tarikh-i-Jaudi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 249; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 677; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 138-9.

3. Fabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 204; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 139-40; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 678.

battle, Muhammad Shah wrested Shamshabad from Rai Laran and handed it over to Juna Khan. Henceforward, there were several conflicts between the rival forces. Finally, truce was concluded.¹ During the next three years i.e. 1457 to 1461 Bahlol did not make any attempt to extend further the sphere of his influence in this region. And how could he without the assistance of the Hindu chiefs. In 1461 he marched again to Shamshabad and took it from Juna Khan and handed it over to Rai Laran.² Finding the Sultan at Shamshabad, Nar Singh Rai³ son of Rai Pratap Singh came to pay respect. On this occasion Nar Singh Rai was seized and killed by Jariya Khan, whose kettledrum and standard had been wrested by his father.⁴ This was enough for Rai Pratap, Kutb Khan the governor of Rapri and Fubarez Khan to desert Sultan Bahlol and join Husain Shah Sharqi.⁵ Thus, instead of marching further towards Jaunpur, Bahlol deemed it proper to withdraw to Delhi.

1. Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 204; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 140-141; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 678.

2. Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) vol. I, p. 204; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 140-3; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p.679.

3. Tabqat-i-Akbari(UTKB) Vol. I, p. 203-5; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 140-3; Comprehensive History of India has Bir Singh, See. Vol. V, p. 679.

4. Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 205; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 140-43; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 679.

5. Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 206; Farikh-i-Bauidi, (UTKB) Vol. I, p.249; Dr.K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 141-3; Comprehensive History of India, Vol.V, p. 679.

In 1463 A.D. Husain Shah Sharqi marched towards Delhi to attack Bahlol Lodi. The latter left Delhi and met his enemy at Chandwar, where for several days skirmishes between the rival parties took place. Ultimately, the two parties concluded a three year truce.¹ During this period of three years Husain Shah Sharqi besieged Etawah and captured it.² He provoked Bahlol Lodi to take the field against him. In 1472 Bahlol turned the tables upon him, pursued him and on the way occupied Aol, Jalali, Rampil, Matiali, Shamshabad and Baket.³ At the village Rampancho near Kapri, Husain Shah gave him a battle and then concluded peace. Ghopamau was recognised as boundary between the two kingdoms. Thereafter, Bahlol returned to Delhi and Husain Shah to Kapri.⁴

After some time Husain Shah Sharqi again returned to fight Bahlol Lodi. A battle took place near Sonhar in

1. Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 208; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 144; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 680-1;

2. Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 209-10; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 144;

3. Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 208; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 144-45.

4. Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 208; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 148-49.

tah district in which Husain was badly defeated. The latter returned to Wapri¹. On the way near Hathkanth he was attacked by a band of 'hadauriya' Rajputs, who plundered him and deprived him of his baggage². In the meantime, Bahlol Lodi wrested Jatawah from Ibrahim Khan, brother of Husain Sharqi and handed it over to Ibrahim Khan son of 'ubarak Khan Muhani³. He also conferred some of the parganas of Jatawah on Rai Janau. Thereafter, Bahlol marched to alpi where Husain was staying⁴.

Sultan Husain also marched from alpi to meet him. Again, a few skirmishes took place. While the opposite armies were encamping on the either side of the Jan'es, Rai Trilok Chand the ruler of Bagesar helped Bahlol by pointing out to him a ford, through which the Sultan crossed the river and came to the other side. Sultan Husain was taken by surprise. His soldiers dispersed in dismay and he himself withdrew to

1. Fabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 209; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 149; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 682.

2. Fabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 209; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 149.

3. Fabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 209; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 149; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 682.

4. Fabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 209; Dr. K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 149; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 682.

Chata, whose ruler Raja Ghed Chandra treated him well and escorted him up to Jaunpur.¹

On the other hand Bahlol continued the pursuit. He reached Jaunpur. A little before his arrival, Husain Shah slipped to Kannauj by way of Bahraich. Bahlol followed him, went up to Kannauj and fought another battle against his rival on the banks of Kali Gali. He defeated him and again put him to flight.² Then he returned to Jaunpur to complete the process of subjugation. Thus, by 1479 he conquered and occupied the Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur.³ After the conquest and occupation of the kingdom of Jaunpur, the next military exploit of Bahlol Lodi was in Mirkhar in Hardoi district, where he suppressed the rebellious elements and plundered them.⁴ Bahlol Lodi's last campaign was directed against

1. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. II, p. 11; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 682 Dr. K.S. Lal, Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 150.

2. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 209; Tarikh-i-Daudi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 26; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 682; Dr. K.S. Lal, op. cit, p. 150.

3. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 210; Tarikh-i-Daudi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 250; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 683; Dr. K.S. Lal, op. cit, p. 151.

4. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. II, p. 12; Tarikh-i-Daudi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 250; Dr. K.S. Lal, op. cit, p. 154.

1
Btawah, which he took from Alanti Singh son of Rai Dandu.
From Btawah Bahlol returned to Delhi, but he was not destined
to reach there. On the way he fell seriously ill and expired²
at Bilauli near Ahet in the Etah District, in July 1480.
Thus, by stages Sultan Bahlol Lodi brought the western and
eastern Uttar Pradesh under his control. But he found it
difficult to manage the Doab, where the Rajputs of various
clans were still powerful to offer uncompromising resistance
to the imperial forces.

Immediately after his accession to the throne
Sikandar Lodi had to deal with three rivals, Azam Husayn,
the governor of Kalpi, his brother Barbak Shah, the governor
of Jaunpur and his brother Alam Khan the governor of Agra,
who had asserted his independence by assuming the royal
title. Thus, once again feverish political activities
were to begin in this region. Sikandar Lodi first
marched against his younger brother Alam Khan, who
had shut himself in the fort of Agra. Being unable to
stand the siege, he fled from Agra to Isa Khan at Patiali.

1. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabakat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I,
p. 210; Tarikh-i-Daudi, (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 250; Gulshan-i-
Ibrahimi (UTKB) Vol. II, p. 24; Tr. K. S. Lal, op cit
p. 156.

2. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabakat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I,
p. 210; Tarikh-i-Daudi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 250; Tr. K. S. Lal,
op.cit; p. 156.

After his flight, Sikandar occupied Nagri and conferred it upon Khan-i-Manan Tarmuli and hims if marched towards Arawah.¹ At Arawah he stayed for seven months. He tried to win over Alam Khan to his side. At last he succeeded in weaning him away from Isa Khan's side by giving him the governorship of Arawah.² Thereafter, he marched to Patiali and Chanshabad. Isa Khan was defeated and badly wounded in the battle. He did not survive for long after this battle. Patiali was given to Sai Janesh.³ From Patiali Sultan Sikandar Lodi marched to deal with his most formidable rival Barbak Shah. Barbak Shah also left Jaunpur with his army to meet his brother. On the way he was joined by Aliyan Muhammad Khan Tarmuli the governor of Awadh and Bahraich. The opposite forces met near Kannauj. Barbak Shah was defeated. He fled to Badaon but was at length compelled to conclude peace.

1. Mizamuddin Ahmad, Tabakat-i-Akbari (JMA) Vol. I, p. 211; Tarikh-i-Baudi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 266; Dr.K.C.Lal, op.cit, p. 164; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 690.

2. Mizamuddin Ahmad, Tabakat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p.211; Tarikh-i-Baudi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 266-67; Dr.K.C.Lal, op.cit, p. 164; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 690.

3. Dr. K.C.Lal, op. cit, p. 164; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 690.

ultan Ikkandar Lodi reinstated him there. In order to keep a check on him Ikkandar assigned the parganas around Jaunpur to his trusted officers. From Jaunpur Ikkandar marched to Balpi. He took possession of Balpi and conferred it on Mahmud Khan Lodi. With the suppression of his rivals in this region he now enjoyed complete authority over the region under review.¹

A little later the Bachghotis, a tri-be of turbulent Rajputs led by their leader Jaga rose in rebellion at the instigation of Husain Sharqi.² They drove away Subarak Khan the governor of Kara, killed his brother Sher Khan and compelled Barbak Khan to take shelter with Kala Bahar at Jariyabad. Raja Bher Chandra, the ruler of Bhatgora, who was in league with the rebels attacked Subarak Khan Muhani, while the latter was crossing the ferry of Jhusi and if imprisoned him.³ The activities of the Bachghoti Rajputs and Raja Bher Chandra of Bhatgora, compelled Sultan Ikkandar Lodi to march with a large army towards the east. Within a

1. Mizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p.212; Tarikh-i-Jauidi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 226-267; Dr. K.C.Lal, op.cit, p. 164-65; Comprehensive History of India, Vol.V, p. 690-91;

2. Mizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p.212; Tarikh-i-Jauidi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 267; Dr. K.C.Lal, op.cit, p. 167-8; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p.691.

3. Mizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p.212-13; Tarikh-i-Jauidi (UTKB) Vol. I, p.267; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 692; Dr. K.C.Lal, op. cit, p. 168.

weak he arrived at Jalmau. Barbak Shah joined him and Raja Bhed Chandra released Mubarak Khan Muhani who also joined his master. Then the joint forces of Barbak Shah and Sultan Sikandar defeated the Bachphotis on the banks of Gomti. The rebels dispersed. Their leader Jaga escaped to join Husain Shah Charqi in the fort of Chaund. Sikandar Lodi then invited Husain Shah Charqi to join him against the rebels but he refused. Later, Husain Shah came out with his army and attacked the Sultan near Katghar in the Rae Bareilly district. However, he was defeated and compelled to flee to Bihar. It was about this time that Jaunpur was taken away from the hands of Barbak Shah and was bestowed upon Mubarak Khan Mujikhaill.¹ After dealing with the Bachghoti Rajputs, Sikandar Lodi proceeded to Chunar. The officers of Husain Shah Sharqi opposed him on the way and therefore he moved westward to Baghela country. At Kantit, the Raja of Bhata came to wait upon him. But being distrustful of Sikandar Lodi's intentions, he fled away in the night. Upon this Sikandar ravaged Arail and then returned to Delhi.²

1. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 213-4; Farikh-i-Jauidi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 268-69; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 692; Dr. K.C. Lal, op.cit, p. 169.

2. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTAB) Vol. I, p. 213-14; Farikh-i-Jauidi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 272; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 692; Dr. K.C. Lal, op.cit, p. 169.

After the death of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, Ibrahim Lodi crowned himself at Agra. The war which followed between Ibrahim and Jalal, who had declared himself king at Kalpi affected the region under a review. Once again the western and the eastern regions of Uttar Pradesh witnessed feverish political activities. Jalal when gained the support of Samindars of Kalpi and its neighbourhood, organised an army to face his brother in the field of battle. Shortly after proclaiming himself sovereign of the Sultanate, Ibrahim sent Azam Humayun Barwani to attack Jalal (Jalaluddin) and recover the eastern districts. Azam Humayun marched to Kalinjar, which belonged to Jalal and opened its siege. Jalal immediately marched to its relief. He opened negotiations with Azam Humayun and won him over to his side. Consequently, Azam Humayun raised the siege and joined him.^I

It was decided by Azam Humayun and Jalaluddin that they must make a concerted move to establish latter's authority at Jaunpur. Hence, keeping this object in mind the combined armies marched against the governor of Awadh². They attacked

1. Maqiyat-i-Mushtaqi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 149; Farikh-i-Daudi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 295-96; Dr. K. Lal, op.cit, p.198-202; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 702.

2. Farikh-i-Daudi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 296; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 703; Dr. K. Lal, op. cit, p. 202.

aid Khan son of Subarak Khan Lodi, the Governor of Awadh. The latter fled to Lucknow and reported the matter to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Sultan Ibrahim Lodi was thus compelled to march from Agra to deal with Jalaluddin and his supporters.^I He left Agra on 7th Jan. 1518 A.D., and when he arrived at Phogaon he was informed that Azam Humayun Barwani and his son Fath Khan had deserted Jalaluddin and they were coming to meet him. From Phogaon the Sultan marched to Kannauj, where Azam Humayun waited upon him. Upon the approach of the imperial army Jalaluddin retreated to Kalpi. At Kannauj, the Sultan was joined by many nobles from Awadh, Jaunpur and Lucknow, including Said Khan and Chaikhzada Faramuli, and Nasim Khan the Governor of Sambhal Ibrahim now despatched Azam Humayun Barwani with a large army against Jalal Khan. Before he could reach Kalpi, Jalal Khan (Jalaluddin) fled from Kalpi for Agra. When Ibrahim Lodi learnt about it, he sent Malik Adam Kekar to save Agra. Meanwhile, Azam Humayun Barwani laid his hands upon Kalpi and took it. The loss of Kalpi and the arrival of reinforcements at Agra, compelled Jalaluddin to withdraw from Agra and seek shelter with the

I. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (UTKB) Vol. I, p.233-34, 235; Farikh-i-Jaudi (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 296; Maqavat-i-Mushtak-i (UTKB) Vol. I, p. 155; Comprehensive History of India, Vol.V, p. 703; Dr. A.C.Lal, op.cit, p. 202-3.

aja of Jawahar. As re aris Ibrahim, he marched from Kannauj to Awarah and then from Awarah returned to Aara. Thus, from Uttar Pradesh the scene of political activities for the time being shifted to the western region.¹

In 1519 once more trouble started in Uttar Pradesh. The imprisonment of Azam Humayun Barwari and his son Path Khan compelled Islam Khan the son of Azam Humayun Barwari to raise the standard of revolt at Aara.² He seized the treasures, arms, and stores, enlisted a large army and defeated Ahmad Khan whom the Sultan had sent against him. About the same time Azam Humayun Lodi and Said Khan Lodi deserted the Sultan and returned to Lucknow to protect their varias. They joined hands with Islam Khan. Thus, within no time the region extending from Aara to Kannauj rose in arms against the Sultan. It is true that later Islam Khan was killed and Said Khan with a number of rebels chiefs was made captive, but during these ^m campaigns many lives were lost. It is related that in the last

1. Kizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (OUPB) Vol. I, p. 234-37; Farikh-i-Jauidi (OUPB) Vol. I, p. 296; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 704; Dr. R.S. Lal, op. cit, p. 203-5.

2. Kizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (OUPB) Vol. I, p. 237; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 705; Dr. R.S. Lal, op.cit, p. 211/12;

battle 10,000 men have lost their lives.¹ Despite this success over the rebels, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi could not establish his hold over northern Uttar Pradesh. It is related that from Mathura to Ahar, the entire country was in the hands of the rebels.

The rebellion of Islam Khan at Kara was the last event in the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in this region. From 1518 to 1526, it seems that the western and the eastern regions besides the Doab chiefly remained under the control of the local chiefs and zamindars. Because after the battle of Panipat Baber found Nasim Khan Lambhalli in Gankhal, Mus Khan Lohani in Kapri, Sultan Khan in Jauhar and Alam Khan in Jalpi and, "those miserable heretics were promoters of all rebellions and disturbances..." the whole country beyond Mathura was held by the Afghan leaders like Nasir Khan Lohani and Saruf Sarauli.

With the arrival of new races beyond the Indus a new period began in the history of the region under review. After a long drawn period of struggle, the Muslims succeeded

1. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabakat-i-Khafi (U.S.B) Vol. 1, p. 237-38; Tarikh-i-Humayuni (U.S.B) Vol. 1, p. 296; Adabiyat-i-Usatagi (U.S.B) Vol. 1, p. 155-56; Comprehensive History of India, Vol. 1, p. 705; Dr. H. S. Lal, op. cit, p. 213.

in makin^{tw}g themselves a place in the socio-political order. Subsequently they became a part and parcel of the indigenous society. They adopted the pattern, some of the customs of the Hindu society in due course of time, influenced the latter and in turn were influenced by it. The distinctions of castes and classes became general features of the Hindu-Muslim society of this period in this region. With the expansion of the Turkish rule in this region and settlement of the foreign races either in the wake of conquest and pacification or as a result of deliberate policy of colonisation, many social and economic changes took place. The paucity of space and the limitations of this work forbids that these important aspects be dealt with here in details. However, the requirements of the Sultans and the nobles alike accelerated the speed of urbanisation in this region, which provided opportunities to the artisans and architects, and others skilled in different professions to contribute their best in the varied fields of human activity. A large number of new cottage industries, such as cotton textile industry, dyeing and bleaching industry, iron industry, etc. came into existence during this period in the region under review. They promoted the inland and foreign trade. The new cities which came into existence became centres of trade and commerce and representatives of new culture. With the growth of an industrialised economy new classes were bound to emerge in society viz. money lenders, money changers, shariffs, brokers, whole sale dealers etc. The emergence and growth of

these classes in Hindu Muslim society was a welcome feature and indicative of socio-economic change, which the region was witnessing in this period. Side by side changes also took place in the means of transport and communication.

Construction of roads and arai and suppression of highway robbery made the society of this region mobile and progressive.

In the other spheres also this region witnessed changes. The arrival of the Sufi saints and establishment of their ilqas at different places their missionary zeal and activities exercised healthy influence on the mind of the Hindus and Muslims. It was this region where flourished the famous Chishti saints such as Muhammad Iqbal (d.1245) of Barnaul, Sheikh Anisul (d.1347) of Batarekh near Lucknow, Sayyiduddin Bahaduri (d.1330) of Bahadur, Sayyiduddin (d.1382) of Barnaul, Abul Fath (d.1386) of Jaunpur, Abul Fatah (d.1389) of Jaunpur, Sayyid Khawajzi (d.1398) of Balpi, Sheikh Ahmad (d.1417) of Balpi, Pathullah (d.1418) of Balpi, Muhammad Qutubkhan (d.1433) of Balpi, Sayyiduddin (d.1433) of Lucknow, Abul Fath Ali Bahaduri (d.1457) of Balpi, Sheikh Muhammad Sayyid (d.1465) of Lucknow, Sayyid (d.1477) of Bahadur, Sayyid Bahadur Shah (d.1496) of Bahadur, Sheikh Bahadur (d.1503) of Bahadur and numerous other saints of the Chishti order. Among the Suhrawardi saints who flourished in this region were, Sheikh Sayyiduddin (d.1298) of Bahadur, Sayyid Mir Shah (d.1370) of Bahadur, Sheikh Sayyid Bahadur (d.1372) Bahadur and Sayyiduddin Bahadur (d.1426) of Balpi.

Besides the Sufi saints of the Chishti and Suhrawardi orders the Sufi saints of the other minor orders also flourished in different parts of this region.

This region also witnessed the rise and growth of the Bhakti movement in the 14th and 15th centuries. The leader of this Bhakti movement was Ramanand. He was born in Varanasi in the Manyakubja Brahmin family. He received his education both at Varanasi and Benaras. Most of his disciples like Kabir, Tapa, Dhana, Sena and Jaldas belonged to this region. It was this region which later on became the scene of religious activities of Vallabhacharaya. He first settled down at Mathura and then at Benaras. He preached with great ardour and energy the Vaishnavite cult. He was a great exponent of Radha-Krishna worship. He was also the founder of Pushti Marg school of Vaishnavism. The movement led by Ramanand and Vallabhacharya broadened the socio-religious outlook of the people of this region, and completely revolutionised the religious atmosphere of this region.

Both in the realms of architecture and literature, great strides were made by the architects and scholars. This region produced the best of the scholars and poets, both in Persian and Hindi, who by their valuable literary contributions not only enriched the Persian and Hindi literature but left a watermark on the pages of the history of this region.

Thus, the history of this region in the pre-Mughal period, despite conflict and confrontation between the invaders and invaded on the one hand between the conservative sections of the Hindu-Muslim society on the other, and despite reduction, colonisation, pacification and consolidation, remained colourful and interesting.

POLITICAL HISTORY

Chapter 1.

(CONFLICT AND COMBINATION ;
(1526-1530)

The extensive region which today covers the whole of Uttar Pradesh always witnessed events of far reaching consequences. Not going deep into the hoary past after the transfer of capital from Delhi to Agra during the reign of Sultan Bikanuar Lodi, the second great sovereign of the Lodi dynasty, the vast region which shall be hereafter mentioned as Uttar Pradesh gradually began to assume importance. Agra being the hub of the empire, the political developments of the region in question began to centre round it. The booming guns of Baber in the historic field of Panipat and the defeat and the death of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi undoubtedly announced the beginning of new era in the history of this sub-continent in general and Uttar Pradesh in particular. Before narrating the course of events, which this region witnessed it should be mentioned that the history of this region was also influenced by the events taking place outside this region. No wonder, the victory of Baber in the decisive battle of Panipat inevitably brought him at the doors of this region. Immediately after the battle of Panipat, like other empire builders and conquerors, Baber decided to send his army towards Agra, the imperial capital.

Such a decision was natural for the reason that whosoever in those times became the master of the imperial capital was considered to be and was recognized as the lord paramount of entire Hindustan.

The fall of the Lodis in the battle of Panipat gave Baber an opportunity to establish his political authority over a region which was always regarded as most important and over which the Lodis had never full and firm control. And this region was no other than Uttar Pradesh. Baber too knew the importance of this region and therefore he despatched his armies to enter it and establish his authority over it. Prince Humayun, who accompanied by Khwaja Kalan, Muhammad Anah, Mansur Barlas, Yunus Ali, Abdullah and all the treasurer, accordingly marched towards Agra to conquer it and take possession of it. On their arrival the Mughals opened the siege to the fort of Agra and began to press the garrison of the fort to surrender it. As regards Baber, after having given orders to his armies to march towards Agra and Delhi, he also set out from Panipat in that direction on 21st April 1526 with the rest of the Mughal army. On 4th May 1526 he reached the suburbs of Agra and dismounted at the mansion of Sulaiman Farmuli. But as the place was far from

1. B.N.II, p.475; Erskine, p.437; A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p.248; Briggs, II, p.29; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II, p.24; M.U.(Trans) Vol.I, p.442; Elliot & Dowson, Vol.IV, p. 256; Dr. Radhey Shyam, Mughal Samrat Baber, p. 278.

2. B.N.II, p. 477; A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p.251; Erskine, p.438; Briggs, II, p.29; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. IV, p.257; R.Williams, p.138; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op. cit. p. 279.

the fort he moved his quarters to Jalal Khan Tighat's house¹ and took up his residence there. Thereafter, he sat down to supervise the military operations. He seconded the efforts of his son Prince Humayun in reducing the fort of Agra. The fort was strongly defended by the Afghan garrison as well as by the members of the family of Raja Vikramajit of Gawalior. After reducing the garrison to sorry plight and taking possession of the fort, Humayun treated the garrison generously. He spared their lives. The Hindu family of the deceased Hindu chief Raja Vikramajit offered jewels and precious achinoor to Humayun. The latter presented it to Baber. But Baber returned it to him. After the conquest and occupation of the fort of Agra the Emperor took up his residence in the palace of late Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.²

Immediately after the conquest and occupation of Agra, Baber was called upon to face large number of problems. His position was by no means strong and safe either inside or outside Agra. To the people of Uttar Pradesh he was but a foreigner and ruthless invader. The Afghans and non-Afghans of this region who were powerful and wielded tremendous influence over the local population were not prepared to welcome him and extend him a helping hand in the process of empire building. There were large number of local chiefs, who threatened to open an offensive against him. Among them

1. Ibid.

2. B.N.II,p.477-78;Dr. Radhey Shyam, op. cit, p. 280.

were the semi-independent and independent chiefs of Rapri, Etawah, Sambhal and other places. Rapri, Sambhal, Etawah, Chunarwar, Aol etc. were the most important strongholds of the local chiefs of Uttar Pradesh. Hasan Khan Dewati in Rapri (now in Mainpuri District) Kutab Khan in Etawah, Alam Khan in Kalpi (now in the Kanpur District) and other local Afghan chiefs, who had under their control the extensive region extending from Kannauj to Faizpur girdled themselves with two swords to face and turn out the Mughals with a view to safeguard their local interests. Within no time¹ they collected their men in arms, opened offensive against the Mughals and began to converge on the imperial capital Agra.

Unmindful of the danger which lurked in the different corners of Uttar Pradesh and the opposition in the offing, Baber decided, firstly to establish hold over the extensive fertile region of the Doab, which had always been a nerve centre for the rulers of northern India. The situation as it was, called forth prompt action and cautious policy. Pursuing the policy of conciliation and coercion Baber tried to bring the local chiefs of the Doab within the orbit of his power. He sent Mulla Aqa to Aol or Aol

1. B.N. II, p. 526; Briggs, II, p. 32; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 251-54; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. I, p. 443-44; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tahqiq-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 26-27; Erskine, p. 443; Dr. Radhey Shyam, Mughal Samrat Baber, p. 282-83.

(Muzaffar) with a royal letter for the local chiefs, promising them favour in case of submission and threatening them in case of defiance and opposition. The immediate upshot of such a policy was that a large number of local chiefs of the Deccan considering discretion to be the better part of valour offered submission. Shaikh Chooran who was an important chieftain of Golconda on assurances of protection and assignment came and joined Baber with his 30,000 soldiers and quiver wearers.¹

1. Shaikh Chooran's life history is interesting. On behalf of Baber he attacked and conquered the fort of Gwalior and took possession of the fort of Lambhal. He was famous for his charity and kind disposition. In his kitchen several kinds of dishes were prepared daily and he used to provide food to all. On the occasion of his son's marriage he is said to have spent 70000 tankas on food and guests and on their departure gave to each of them 100 horses, 2 elephants and different varieties, of articles weighing 20 shwas and worth several lakhs of tankas. He was very fond of music. On one occasion when he was with the emperor at Jaunpur, he fell ill. Because of high fever he did not take food for several days. His condition caused great anxiety. At length one of his attendants went to Santagi Shaikh Ajodhan, in whom Shaikh Chooran had great faith. The revered Shaikh Ajodhan enquired from the attendant about Shaikh Chooran. The latter replied that he was confined to bed. Then the Shaikh asked, "how many days have passed?" Thereupon the Shaikh enquired, "whether he listens to music or not?" The latter replied that in this period he has not listened to it." The Shaikh told him that it should not have been so. He should not be prevented from listening to music. And this is the malady from which he is now suffering. Go and collect talented musicians and organise assembly." The attendant returned and upon his arrival at Jaunpur he told his master about Shaikh's wishes. Shaikh Chooran immediately called the musicians, listened to their music and fell in ecstasy. He wept so much that he became unconscious. He found that he had no fever. At once he asked for food. He took it and then sang a song.

Shaikh Chooran was himself a fine musician. One day he made arrangements for celebrating the spring festival. He made provision for everything. A few saints were also present in this assembly. There were artists and musicians also.

(Continued on next page)...

Shaikh Ghooran was a resident of Markar Kol. He was a direct descendant of Hazrat Shah Jamal Shamsul Arifin, a famous saint of Kol. According to the author of Aqiyat-i-Mushtaqi, he was one of the greatest saints of Hindustan. The Emperor honoured him and the latter performed his duties most assiduously and zealously. He made the rebellious captive and presented them to his Majesty. Likewise, following the example of Shaikh Ghooran many other chiefs came and offered submission. Among them were, Shaikh Sayazid ~~xx~~ Farruli, who was given jagir in Gadh, Firuz Khan who was given jagir in Jaunpur and Muhammad Khan who was given a revenue assignment. In order to further extend the sphere of his influence Baber sent Sayyid Mahdi Ahwaja and Muhammad Sultan Mirza towards Atawah and Firuz Khan towards Jaunpur. The imperial army

Continued from the last page :

Despite the best of their efforts the musicians could not create a suitable atmosphere for the Sufis, so that they could fall in ecstasy. At last Shaikh Ghooran stood up and took seat in the centre. He recited a Ghazal and hardly had he started than those who were present there fell in ecstasy and began to weep. See. Aqiyat-i-Mushtaqi, (JN/Ms, p 87; Rizivi, MAB (Babur) p. 441; Dr. Madhey Shyam, op cit, p 285-286.

1. As Baber mentions that Shaikh Sayazid came to serve him together with Firuz Khan, Mahmud Khan Juhoni and Tazi Jia. B.N.II, p 527; Badaoni (Trans) I, p.444; Briggs, II, p.32; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, (Trans) p.28-9; A. I. (Trans) I, p.24; 50 Tarikh-i-Alfi, Rizivi, MAB (Babur) p.63, Dr. Madhey Shyam, op cit, p286.

2. B.N.II, p.529-30; Arskine, p.448; Briggs, II, p33; A.N. (Trans) II, p.251; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, (Trans) II, p.27-28; Badaoni (Trans) Vol I, p.444. A. Williams, xxxxxx p.141; Dr. Madhey Shyam op cit, p,286.

3. B.N.II, p.527; A.N. (Trans) I, p.253-54. Badaoni (Trans) Vol. I, p.444.

under Deyyid Khan Khwaja moved towards tawah, and conquered it. Likewise, Piruz Khan fell upon Sultan Muhammad Nuhani and drove him away from Jaunpur towards Bihar, and established the imperial authority over Jaunpur. But the success of the imperial army over Sultan Muhammad Nuhani was more showy than real. He soon collected a large army of 50,000 soldiers and mobilised this army towards Jaunpur to recover it from the hands of the Mughals. The result was, Mughal governor Piruz Khan was compelled to abandon Jaunpur and leave the city at the mercy of the invaders. The success over Piruz Khan, emboldened Sultan Muhammad Nuhani to push his soldiers further in the direction of Agra.¹ He sent Maruf Farnuli and Nasir Khan Nuhani with a large army towards Kannauj² probably with the instruction to fall upon Agra. About the same time he asked Sibani to converge upon Ambhal and take possession of the fort. The three pronged military operations of the Afghans and their determination to drive away the Mughals speaks about their patriotic zeal. It alarmed Baber. The news of deployment of 40,000 troops of the enemy and their march towards Agra and that they had already taken possession of the entire country extending from Kannauj to Jaunpur and their efforts to block the progress of the imperialists took

1. B.V.II, p.530; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.I, p.444; Erskine, p. 448.

2. B.N. II, p.531-32; A.N. (Trans) Vol.I, p.254; Erskine, p.449.

¹
the wind out of sails.

The struggle between the local Afghan chiefs of Uttar Pradesh and the imperialists no doubt was unequal yet the former mostly depended upon the local support and did not lose courage. They continued to be quite active. To counter foil their designs Baber recalled Humayun from Dholpur and sent Muhammad Rokultash towards Sambhal and directed Hindu Beg and Hitta Beg Malik Qasim, Baba Qashca, Mulla Apaq and Shaikh Ghooran to push into the Doab and reach Sambhal at the earliest to relieve Qasim Khan Sambhali and take possession of the fort of Sambhal.³

Sambhal was then held by the local chief Qasim Khan Sambhali. On account of the repeated onslaughts of the Afghan chief Biban, Qasim Khan Sambhali sought Baber's assistance and assured him that on the arrival of the Mughal forces he would surrender the fort. Reposing trust in him⁴

1. B.N.II, p.331-32; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.I, p.445; Erskine, p.449-50; Dr. Radhey Shyam, Mughal Samrat Baber, p.287.

2. B.N.II, p.528; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit. p.289.

3. B.N.II, p.528; Erskine, p.448; A.N. (Trans) Vol.I, p.254; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) p.26; M.T.I., p.444; R. Williams, p.142. Dr. Radhey Shyam, Mughal Samrat Baber, p.287.

4. B.N.II, p.528; Erskine, p.447; A.N. (Trans) Vol.I, p.254; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) p.26; M.T.I., p.444; R. Williams, p.142; Dr. Radhey Shyam, Mughal Samrat Baber, p.287.

and in the hope of establishing his hold over such an important stronghold, Baber, as has been related earlier sent an army towards Lambhal. Hindu Beg and Kitta Beg together with other nobles crossed the Ganges at Anupshahr¹ and sent Baba Jashqa, Malik Qasim, with his elder and younger brothers with an advance party to Lambhal and reached there by mid-day prayer. Biban, who had been besieging the fort and was persistently trying to sieze the fort came out and arrayed his men to fight the imperialists. After a well contested battle, he was driven away. He fled away leaving behind his men, horses, elephants and rich booty which was later on collected by Malik Qasim and his party.² Next day, when Hindu Beg and other nobles arrived, Qasim Khan Lambhali came out of the fort and saw them. He made false pretensions and prevaricated in surrendering the fort.⁴ One day Chaikh Ghooran and Hindu Beg managed to bring him out of the fort. Thereafter, they placed Qasim Khan Lambhali under surveillance and sent him and his dependants to the court.³ Later they were sent

1. Ganges rises a little above Anupshahr in Bulandshahr district.

2. B.N.II,p.528; Elliot & Dowson,Vol.IV;p. 278;

3. B.N. II,p. 529; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II,p. 27-29; Briggs, Vol.II.p.33; A.I. (Trans) Vol.I,p. 254;Erskine,p.448; Dr. Radhey Shyam, Mughal Samrat Baber,p.288.

¹
to Bayana. In this way the imperialist succeeded in driving away Biban Jilwani from Sambhal and taking possession of the fort of Sambhal.

In Etawah too the imperialists were called upon to face opposition. To Kutb Khan of Etawah "royal letters of promise and threat" had been sent several times but he refused to attend the court and surrender the fort. Likewise the capital Agra was also not safe in the face of vast assemblage of insurgents under the local Afghan chiefs near Kannauj. ³ Baber has clearly mentioned in his Memoirs that, "the various rebel amirs of the east that is to say, those under Nasir Khan Suhani and Maruf Farmuli have crossed the Gang (Ganges) with 40,000 to 50,000 men taken Kannauj and ⁴ now lie some three miles on our side of the river." Baber decided to deal with his enemies in a systematic way. He sent Mahdi Khwaja with a strong reinforcement of nobles and household troops under the command of Muhammad Sultan Mirza and Sultan Muhammad Buldai, Muhammad Ali Jung Tung and Abdul Aziz to Etawah. ⁵ A little later on the receipt of alarming

1. R.Williams, p. 141; Erskine, p. 448.

2. B.N.II, p.530; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit, p.288.

3. B.N. II, p.523; A.N.(Trans) Vol.I.p. 268; Dr.Radhey Shyam, op. cit.p.289.

4. B.N.II, p.530; Afsanah-i-Jahangir, p.58.

5. B.N.II, p.530; Erskine, Vol.I, p.448; Briggs, Vol.II, p.36; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p.251; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) II p. 23; R. Williams, p.142.

reports about the activities of the Afghan nobles in the eastern region and Rana Sanga in the western region, Baber summoned his Hindustani and Turki nobles to discuss the situation and chalk out future course of action. In the discussion which ensued, the conquest of Etawah was not deemed to be so important at this critical juncture and it was decided that military operations should be undertaken against the Afghans in the Doab and the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh. Humayun undertook the responsibility of dealing with the Afghan rebels. Since a decision had been taken to reinforce Humayun, Baber sent Ahmad-i-Qasim's men to inform the armies which had been despatched towards Dholpur to join Humayun at Chandarwar.² Likewise couriers were despatched to inform Mahdi Khwaja and Muhammad Sultan Mirza, who were marching towards Etawah to return and join Humayun.³

While Baber himself stayed at Agra, Prince Humayun marched towards the eastern region on 21st August, 1527. He halted at Jalesar and stayed there for one night. Here he

1. B.N.II, p. 530-1.

2. Chandrawar is on the Jamuna between Agra and Etawah. B.N.II, p.530; ~~xxxxx~~ A.N. (Trans) Vol.I, p.232; Arskine, Vol.I, p.449; n.williams, p.142; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit, p.289.

3. B.V.II, p.530-31; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit, p.290.

4. B.N.II, p.530-1; Elliot & Dowson, Vol.IV, p.266; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit, p.290.

was joined by Mahdi Khwaja and Muhammad Sultan Mirza. After having being reinforced by the Mughal nobles, Humayun in company of Mahdi Khwaja and Muhammad Sultan Mirza resumed his march. He marched straight against the Afghan rebels, who under ¹ Nasir Khan Munani and Faruf Faruli had assembled at Jajmau. Arriving at the distance of twenty miles from the enemy's position Humayun sent Munim Atka to bring the news about enemy's whereabouts. Before the latter could return to inform Humayun about enemy's position, the enemy on receipt of the ~~the~~ news about the movements of the imperial army broke and fled.² This facilitated Humayun's task. He marched ahead. Jajmau was conquered and occupied by the Mughals. Thereafter, the Mughal army under Humayun proceeded farther and when it reached Dalmau. Fateh Khan Barwani, an Afghan chief, came forward and offered submission. He was sent to Baber in ³ company of Mahdi Khwaja and Muhammad Sultan Mirza. Then Dalmau was occupied by the Mughals. After encamping there for some-time the Mughal army crossed the Ganges and by forced marches

1. B.N.II,p.533; A.V. (Trans) Vol. I.p.256; Erskine, I, p.450; R. Williams p. 142; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op. cit.p.290; Jajmau in the district Kanpur.

2. B.N.II,p. 534; A.V. (Trans) Vol.I,p.268-69;Dr. Radhey Shyam, op, cit, p. 290;

3. B.N.II,p.534; A.N.(Trans) Vol.I,p.256; Briggs,Vol. II, p. 32; Erskine, Vol.I.p. 450; Dalmau is on the left bank of the Ganges and South east of Rae Bareilly.

covered the distance upto Jaunpur. Humayun defeated the
1
Afghans under Sultan Muhammad Nuhani and after occupying
the fort of Jaunpur marched towards Ghazipur, where Nasir
Ahan Nuhani had collected his men to offer resistance. On
Humayun's approach, Nasir Ahan Nuhani with other Afghan
chiefs withdrew. He crossed the Sarju and took refuge in
Ballia and Saran. The Mughal troops pursued the Afghan
2
insurgents and overtook them in Kharid, where they massacred
a large number of them and after having devastated the
3
adjoining territory, they returned with Humayun to Jaunpur.

According to Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, "the eastern
campaign of Humayun can not be spurned aside as passing episode
4
of Baber's reign." The unbroken series of Humayun's successes
established Mughal authority in the major part of the region
extending from Kannauj to Kharid in Ballia district. His
military operations brought about the submission of the local

1. B.N.II, p. 531; A.I. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 257; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 29; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 266; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit. p. 290.

2. Nizamuddin Ahmad, op.cit. p. 29; Tarikh-i-Jaunpur, cf. Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, op.cit. p. 30; According to Ahmad Yadgar the author of Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana, Mirza Hindal was deputed against the Nuhani chief, which seems to be improbable. See, Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana. Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit, p. 290.

3. B.N.II, p. 544; Kharid remained in possession of Husarat Shah the ruler of Bengal till 1527. This is known by an inscription on one of the walls of the tomb of Nizamuddin in Kharid. See, Gazetteer of United Provinces, Vol. I, p. 44; A.V. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 256; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 266.

4. B.N.II, p. 530; Ahmad Yadgar, p. 116; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 255; Waziyat-i-Mushtaqi (B.M.M/S) p. 85; District Gazetteer of United Provinces, Vol. I, p. 44; K.R. Qanungo, Sher Shah, p. 92-94.

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Afghan chief Patch Khan Barwani and pushed the eastern most boundaries of the Mughal empire up to Harid. In the face of the Mughal troops the Afghan rebels took to their heels. They found their authority slipping away from their grips and influence waning. After having given a good set back, Humayun, spent sometime in making administrative arrangements to defend the eastern frontier and consolidate the Mughal position in the eastern region. Needless to say that from political, economic and military view point the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh was of vital importance to the Mughals. Without their firm control over it, their position would have remained shaky in the western region. However, Humayun appointed Sultan Junaid Barlas and Khwaja Mir Hasan as joint governors of Jaunpur and left Firuz Khan Sarang Khani, Muhammad Khan, Qazi Abdul Jabbar and others to assist them. He also appointed Shaikh Bayazid with an army to maintain his hold over Oudh, A little later the alarming reports from the western region about the activities and movements of Rana Sangha towards Bayana and repeated summons from his father Baber compelled Humayun to return to Agra. He recrossed the Ganges and

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1. Dr. R. S. Avasthy, The Mughal Emperor Humayun, p.31.
 2. B.N.II, p.535; Aqiyat-i-Mushtaqi, op.cit, (Rizvi, MAB) p.440; Afsan-i-Shahanshah, p. 59; Elliot & Dowson. Vol.IV, p.270.
 3. B.N.II, p.531-34, 544; A.N. (Trans) Vol.I, p.104; E & D, Vol. IV, p. 275;

1
marching through Kara-Manikpur and Kalpi and gradually he
2
moved towards Agra. He arrived there in Feb, 1528. At Kalpi
3
Alan Khan son of Jalal Khan Nighat met him and offered
4
submission. Outwardly it appears that before the battle of
Chandua, the entire region between Kanauj and Aharid in
Ballia had come under the possession of the Mughals and that
they had become virtual masters of a major part of Uttar
5
Pradesh. But this was not so. Still there was a large area
which still lay outside the pale of the Mughal authority.
6
For example, the neighbouring region of Allahabad and Benaras.
The region south of Allahabad was controlled by Raja Bir Singh
7
Baghela, a descendant of Baghela chief of Arai. Likewise
8
Kalinjar was held by Raja Rudra Pratap Dev and Chunar was held
by Taj Khan Narang Khani.

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1. B.N.II, p.544; Dr.R... Avasthy, op.cit, p.31; Dr. Radehey
Chyam, op.cit, p. 291;
 2. B.N.II, p.562; A.N. (Trans) Vol.I, p.256; Tarikh-i-Jannpur,
Cf. Dr. R... Avasthy, p. 30.
 3. B.N.II, p.544; Briggs, Vol.II, p.33-34; Afsan-i-Shahan, p.56;
Erskine, Vol.I, p.453.
 4. B.N.II, p.544; Briggs, II, p.33-34; Afsan-i-Shahan, p.56;
Erskine, Vol.I, p.453.
 5. B.N.II. p.652; 654; According to Dr.Avasthy, his hold over
Benaras, Allahabad and Prayag is extremely doubtful. For details
see, 'The Mughal Emperor Humayun', p.10 (n.12)
 6. B.N.II, p.562; Waqiyat-i-Mushtaqi (Rizivi, MKB) (Baber) p.360;
Gulbadan begum, Humayun Nama (Trans) p.136; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.I,
p.444; A.N. (Trans) Vol.I, p.258; Cunningham, Archaeological Survey
of India Report, Vol. XXI, p.116.
 7. B.N.II, p.562; Waqiyat-i-Mushtaqi (Rizivi, MKB, Baber) p.360;
Gulbadan Begum, (Trans) p.136; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.I, p.444; A.N.
(Trans) Vol.I, p.258; Cunningham op.cit, p.116.
 8. B.N. II., p.545.

For some time past the activities of Rana Sangram Singh had been threatening the Mughals from the western side. The position of the Mughals became more delicate on account of the rallying of the Afghan chiefs of the Doab and Oudh round Rana Sangram Singh and the possibility of Hasan Khan Newati¹ also joining the latter. A little later Hasan Khan Newati² joined the Rana at Toda Bhim in the Agra district. The impending danger of an invasion on Agra compelled Baber to march westwards on 11th Feb. 1527. He halted in the suburbs of Agra to wait for the reinforcements to join him and complete his own military preparations. A little later he heard that the joint forces of Hasan Khan Newati and Rana Sangram Singh had reached Bayana and an attempt was made by the garrison to deliver an attack upon the enemy but it ended in fiasco. The enemy fell upon them and completely routed them. In the affray Bangar Khan Janjuha lost his life and Kitta Beg was badly wounded.³ Those who returned from Bayana brought the news of the strength and valour of the enemy.

There was smell of the blood in the air. Baber now⁴ decided to march forward and encamp in the Madhkar pargana.

1. B.N. II, p. 545; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 260; Afsan-i-Shahan. Cf. S.B.P. Nigam, op.cit, p. 60; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit. p. 303.

2. B.N. II, p. 545; E & D, Vol. IV, p. 271; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 260.

3. B.N. II, p. 548; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 261;

4. Madhakar lies between Agra and Sikri. B.N. II, p. 548; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit. p. 304.

Accordingly, he sent his men with Jasim to dig as many wells as possible for the army. Marching from Agra on 16th Feb. Baber with his army arrived in Madhkar pargana and the next day he resumed his march and occupied the ground at Sikri, where abundant water was available. Thereafter, he sent his men to inform Mahdi Khwaja and the garrison of the fort of Bayana¹ that they should join him without delay. About the same time Beg Mirak Mughal, one of Humayun's servant was sent with others to collect the news about the movements of Rana Sangram Singh. Next morning Beg Mirak and his men brought² the news that the Rana had reached Basawar. On the same day Mahdi Khwaja and Muhammad Sultan Mirza joined Baber.

Shortly after, Baber's reconnoitring parties under Abdul Aziz, Mulla Apaq, Muhibb Ali and Khalifa's retainers and others were despatched to bring the enemy nearer to the Mughal camp. And by the time the enemy could cover the distance from Basawar to Sikri, Baber marched a little further and encamped at Khanua and completed his military preparations. Despite the superiority of arms, the Mughals in the face of the Rajputs began to lose courage. To increase the numerical

1. B.N. II, p. 551; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 470; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 261; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) p. 32; R. Williams, p. 149; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op, cit. p. 304.

2. B.N. II, p. 548; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 260. Erskine, Vol. I, p. 462; R. Williams, p. 145; Basawar is 12 miles north west of Bayana, Dr. Radhey Shyam, op, cit, p. 304.

strength of his army Baber had to send Shaikh Jamal to collect all the quiver wearers from the Doab and Delhi. Instructions were also given to Shaikh Jamal to create diversion for the enemy by looting and plundering ¹ Nawat. Similar instructions were given to Mulla Turk Ali and Magful the Jiwan. They overran and raided a few villages no doubt but this tactics could hardly create an impression on the combined forces of Hasan Khan Newati and Rana Sangram Singh. And at last that critical hour arrived when the opposite armies took the ground to fight. ² On 17th March 1527 the battle started on the plains of Khanua and within a few hours the fate of the battle was decided. It was another great battle, though fought outside Uttar Pradesh but it ensured victor's interests in the region of Uttar Pradesh. The battle of Khanua completed the second phase of Baber's conquest. It saved Agra from the hands of Rana determined the south western boundaries of the Mughal Empire and above all it strengthened Baber's position in the region of Uttar Pradesh.

Even after the battle of Khanua Baber knew no peace. A little before the aforesaid battle Baber had received alarming reports from Rapri, Chandwar, the Doab and other

1. Khanua is 37 miles west of Agra in the Bharatpur state, Dr. Radhey Shyam, op,cit,p.317.

2. B.N.II,p. 375; A.N. (Trans) Vol.I, p.266; Afzan-i-Shahan, Cf, S.B. P. Nigam, op,cit, p.56; Arskine, Vol I,p.474.

places in Uttar Pradesh that Hasan Khan Juhani had taken possession of Kapri, Qutb Khan had established his hold over Chandwar Rustam Khan, after having collected quiver wearers¹ from the Doab had established his authority over Kol, Khwaja Zahid had abandoned Sambhal and Sultan Muhammad Buldaiha² had been driven away from Kannauj by the Afghans. The Afghan opposition to the Mughals was in full swing in the Doab region. Thus, immediately after the battle of Khanua Baber was compelled to make a sustained and concerted effort to crush the Afghans and to recover his losses.

On 18th March 1527 Baber sent Muhammad Ali Junj Jung, Shaikh Ghooran and Abdul Malik and others with an army against Rustam Khan (Ilyas Khan). The latter could not stand against the Mughals, consequently he took to flight. His men were scattered in all the directions. A little later, he was³ made captive and sent to Agra where he was put to death. From Khanua Baber marched towards Bayana and took possession of the fort and then he entered Mewat. After visiting Bayana⁴ again he returned to Agra via Sikri. He arrived at Agra on

1. B.N. II, p. 551-6; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 263; E & D, Vol. IV, p. 270; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 469-75.

2. B.N. II, p. 576; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 267; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 474;

3. B.N. II, p. 576; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 266; E & D, Vol. IV, p. 270.

4. B.N. II, p. 580; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 262; 265.

¹
26th April, 1557. A little later he sent Muhammad Ali Jung
Jung, Guli Beg brother of Tardi Beg, Abdul Malik and Hasan
Khan and Barya Khan towards Chandwar and Aapri to recover
these places by falling upon Hasan Khan Muhani and Qutb Khan.
When the aforesaid Mughal nobles reached Chandwar, Qutb Khan
and his men abandoned Chandwar and took to their heels. The
Mughals then conquered the fort of Chandwar and then marched
towards Aapri. Hasan Khan Muhani appeared with his army
to fight the imperialists. But he could not stand against the
imperial forces and took to flight. He tried to cross the
Jamuna but was drowned. As regards Qutb Khan, on the approach
of the Mughal forces he abandoned Etawah and fled away. Etawah
was entrusted to Mahdi Khwaja's son Jafar Khwaja, who was
to act as his father's deputy until latter's arrival there.

About the same time Baber sent Muhammad Sultan Mirza
and recovered Kannauj which had been abandoned by Sultan
Muhammad Gulalai in the pre-khanua period. The Mughal forces
also captured Badaon and it was entrusted to Qasim-i-Musain
Sultan. A little later Qasim-i-Musain Sultan was sent against

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1. B.N.II, p. 581; Elliot & Dowson, Vol IV, p. 278.
 2. Chandwar is 25 miles east of Agra on the Mathura Etawah road. R. Williams, p.158; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 476; Briggs, Vol. II p.38; B.N. II, p. 581-2;
 3. B.N.II, p.582; B.N. Elliot and Dowson, Vol.IV p. 278.
 4. B.N. II, p.581-2; B.N. Elliot and Dowson, Vol.IV, p.278-9.
 5. B.N. II, p. 583.

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Biban, who was besieging the fort of Luknoor ¹Hasim Husain Sultan was reinforced by Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Baba Hashqa's ²Malik Hasim and many others. So sooner ^{and} Hasim Husain Sultan march forward and he had crossed the Ganges than Biban raised the siege, abandoned his baggage and fled. He was notfly pursued by the Mughals up to Aghairabad. The imperial army ³ stayed at Aghairabad for sometime and then returned to Badaon.

It has already been related that the local Afghan chiefs of the Doab were proving themselves to be difficult adversaries for the imperialists. They were not prepared to give up their position so easily. Perhaps with a view to keep a close eye over their activities, Baber rode out for an excursion to Kol and Sambhal on 24th sept., 1527. On 27th sept. when he again visited Kol, he was informed that Darwesh Ali and Yusuf Ali, whom Humayun had left to protect Sambhal, had crossed the Ganges, "fought Qutb Sarwani and a part of ⁴ the Rajas, beat them well and killed a mass of men." It was here at Kol that Baber also recieved the few heads as trophies

1. Luknoor is the old name of Rampur. District Gazetteer of India, XXII, p.197; B.N. II, p.582; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit, p. 321.

2. B.N.II, p.582, Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit, p. 321.

3. B.N. II, p.582; Erskine, Vol I, p.443; R. Williams, p.158; Briggs, Vol. II, p. 38, Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit, p. 320-21.

4. B.N. II, p.586-7, A.N. (Trans) Vol.I, p. 267.

of war and an elephant, which the two Mughal generals had sent him as gift. Inspired by the recent success of the Mughal officers posted at Sambhal, Baber moved in that direction, crossed the Ganges on 1st Oct. and spent one night in one of the villages of ¹Samthal. On the next day he visited Sambhal and then returned to Agra.

A few entries in his Memoirs reveal that the Afghan menace in different regions of Uttar Pradesh was by no means over by December, 1527. The Afghans continued their guerilla activities to jeopardise the position of the Mughals in the Doab. Their activities during this period remind us of the activities of the local Hindu chiefs of the Doab in the early thirteenth century against the Turks. Precisely with a view to keep his men in arms ready to face the Afghans, ²he advanced on 9th December as far as Jalesar, halted at Anwar on 12th December and then by boat arrived at Chandwar, ³twenty five miles east of Agra. ⁴⁵On 26th December, he again crossed the river with his army to deal with Shaikh Bayazid. He sent Muhammad Ali Jung Jung to Kannauj to bring Muhammad Sultan Mirza, the Sultans and amirs of the neighbouring regions, such as Qasim-i-Husain Sultan, Be-Khub Sultan, Malik Qasim, Kuki,

1. B.N. II, p. 588; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 253-57.

2. B.N. II, p. 589.

3. B.N. II, p. 589.

4. B.N. II, p. 589; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 478; R. Williams, p. 163.

5. B.N. II, p. 589; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 448; R. Williams, p. 163-275;

Abul 'Ishma'ad, In'chahr Mirza with his elder and younger brothers and the Jarya Khanis to the imperial camp, so that they might be sent against the hostile Afghan chiefs.

Instructions were also given to these officers that firstly they should try to conciliate Shaikh Sayazid and in case the latter refused to offer submission then he should be dealt with and driven away.¹

We are not here concerned with Baber's Chanderi expedition. But it should be noted that during his absence from Agra, the Afghan chiefs of Uttar Pradesh became very active in the Doab region. On 22th January, 1528 Mir Khalifa brought with him a few letters to inform Baber that, "the troops appointed for the east had fought without consideration, been beaten abandoned Lahna² and gone to Kannauj." Baber was least surprised to hear this news. Without making any change in his original plan, he decided to first conquer the fort of Chanderi which he had been besieging and then to launch a concerted attack on the Afghan Chiefs of Uttar Pradesh. After the conquest and occupation of the fort of chanderi, Baber sent Yakha Khwaja and Jafar Khwaja to collect boats from Kalpi and Manur passage³ and ordered his army to cross the river.

1. B.N. II, p. 594.

2. B.N.II, p.594; A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p.268; Erskine, Vol.I, p. 482; R.Williams, p. 164.

3. B.N.II, p.589; Erskine, Vol.I, p.478; R.Williams, p.163-65.

While his army was still crossing the river he recieved the news that the Mughal officers posted in Kannauj had been compelled by the Afghan chief Shaikh Bayazid to abandon it; that Rapri too had been abandoned by his men and that Abul Muhammad had also surrendered ²Hamshabad to the Afghan Chief. ³ It took two to three days for Baber's army to cross the river. And once the army was on the other side of the Ganges, then Baber sent his men to Kannauj ⁴ to find out the whereabouts of the enemy. Without encountering any opposition Baber continued to march towards Kannauj to pursue the enemy. On the receipt of the news of his rapid marches Maruf's son fled to join his father, who together with Biban and Shaikh Bayazid had been encamping on the eastern banks of the Ganges to block the passage of the imperialists. On 27th February Baber and his army arrived at Kannauj ⁵ and marched from there to take up their position on the west bank of the Ganges. After the Mughal army had taken up its position on the right bank of the Ganges, Baber decided to cross the river. He ordered that boats should be collected and a bridge should be constructed.

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1. B.N. II, p. 598; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 278; R. Williams, p. 163-5; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 488.
 2. B.N. II, p. 568; E & D, Vol. IV, p. 278; Dr. Madhey Chyam, op. cit, p. 330.
 3. B.N. II, p. 594; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 482; R. Williams, p. 164.
 4. B.N. II, p. 594; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 268; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 482; R. Williams, p. 164.
 5. B.N. II, p. 598; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 268; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 486; R. Williams, p. 165;

Under the cover of heavy fire of his artillery Baber's army¹ crossed the Ganges on 12th March, 1528. On 13th March the whole body of the Afghans delivered an attack on the imperialists but they were defeated and put to flight. Two days later, Baber marched with his army and halted near a lake² near Bagarmanu. On 21st March, 1528 he arrived at Lucknow,³ crossed the Gomti and X marched towards Ayodhya. A hot pursuit of the enemy was thus started. While he was still at a distance from Ayodhya, some one came from Ghin Timur Sultan to inform him that the Afghan chiefs were encamping on the bank of the river Sharda.⁴ Baber sent Qarcha with 1000 soldiers to assist Ghin Timur Sultan and himself also marched in that direction. On 28th March he arrived on the bank of Ghaghra and Sharda. On his approach the combined armies of Biban and Shaikh Bayazid broke and fled.⁵ Shaikh Bayazid himself flung "into the jungle and escaped."

After this, we do not know anything with regard to Baber's activities in any of the region of Uttar Pradesh, for

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1. B.N.II, p.598.
 2. It is in the Unnao district of Uttar Pradesh.
 3. B.N.II, p.599-600; Afsan-i-Shahan, Cf. Dr. S.B.P. Nigam, p.57; Erskine, Vol.I, p.484; R.Williams, p.165.
 4. B.N.II, p.651; Erskine, Vol.I, p.484; R.Williams, p.168.
 5. B.N.II, p.601; Erskine, Vol.I, p.487; R.Williams, p.165; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit, p.331;
 6. B.N. II, p.601; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit, p.332-38.

there is a gap in his Memoirs from end April, 1528 to September 17, 1528. It seems that he spent this period of 5½ months at Jaunpur. After driving away the Afghans from eastern Uttar Pradesh to Bihar and Bengal he returned to Agra.¹

The year 1529 opened with fresh problems for the Mughal Emperor Baber. The alarming developments in Bihar compelled him to march from Agra on 20th January, 1529 to deal with the Afghan menace on the borders of eastern Uttar Pradesh.² Thus, once again the people of Uttar Pradesh heard the noise of the hoofs of the horses of the Mughal soldiers and witnessed the movements of the Mughal army through the heart of this region. Passing through Jalesar, Anwar, Avapur, Rapri, Etawah, Kalpi, Adampur and other places Baber reached Bug Dugi on 26th February, 1529.³ He encamped on the bank of the Ganges. Here he was informed that Sultan Mahmud Lodi had collected 100,000 soldiers and had planned to deliver a three pronged attack on the Mughals, that he had deputed Shaikh Bayazid and Biban with a large army towards Sarwar (Gorukhpur) and that he himself with Fateh Khan Sarwani was marching along the Ganges towards Chunar and that Sher Khan who had joined the Afghan⁴

1. B.N. II, p.601-2.

2. B.N. II, p.650; Briggs, II, p.38; Dr. Radhey Shyam, opcit., p231.

3. B.N. II, p.640-51.

4. Sarwar in Gorukhpur district. B.N. II, p.616; 651-52; Afsan-i-Jahangir, Cf. Dr. S. B. P. Nigam, p.59; Briskine, Vol. I, p498; R. Williams, p.168; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit., p340-41.

nobles had crossed the Ganges and was marching towards Benaras to create diversion for the imperialists.¹ Shortly after the news arrived that Sher Khan had occupied Benaras after driving away the officers of Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi son of Husain Shah Sharqi who had joined Baber a little earlier.² On the receipt of the news Baber took a full view of enemy's movements and plans and then decided to march continuously lest his forces may not be caught in the trap laid by the enemy. He ordered that while his army should march along the right bank of the Ganges, Askari's army should march all along the left bank. Thus both of the armies were to march parallel to each other and in close collaboration. Baber left Dugaugi on 1st March 1529 Sultan Muhammad Bakhshi informed him that the rebel Afghans after some confusion broke up in confusion and had dispersed.³ Sultan Muhammad Bakhshi also informed Baber that while in an attempt to cross the Ganges near Benaras many of the Afghans had lost their lives. Upon this Baber decided to make hot pursuit of the Afghan insurgents. By forced marches⁴ he reached Prayag and then on 23rd March, 1529 he visited Chunar.

1. B.N.II, p.652; Dr. Radhey Shyam, Mughal Samrat Baber, p.340-1; Erskine, Vol. I, P499; R. Williams, p.159;

2. B.N.II, p.652-3; Afsan-i-Shahan, Cf. Dr. J. B. P. Nigam, p.59.

3. B.N.II, p.652-53; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit, p.341.

4. B.N.II, p.654-57; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit, p.341;

At Benaras, he learnt that Sultan Muhammad Lodi, the leader of the Afghans was encamping on the banks of the river Son. He therefore, decided to march forward. He left Benaras and arrived at Ghazipur on 30th March, 1529¹. The vast assemblage of the Mughal soldiers in the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh and the deployment of troops certainly unnerved the Afghan leaders. On 1st April Muhammad Khan Muhani submitted and thereafter his example was followed by many other Afghan leaders like Nasir Khan Muhani, the governor of Ghazipur, Sultan Jalal Khan Muhani, Farid Khan, Alam Khan and Sher Khan, who sent letters of submission to Baber. We do not know about its reaction on Baber's mind or what was his reply to them. But this is certain that no sooner did he step into Bihar, the Afghans who had entrenched themselves in Kharid in Ballia, broke and fled to Bengal.

After fighting the battle of Ghagra with the combined armies of Afghans and the ruler of Bengal and making administrative arrangements in Bihar, Baber started withdrawing himself to his capital Agra. On his return march, while he was at Nathpur on 31st May, 1529² he learnt from Shah Muhammad

1. B.N.II, p.657-9; Dr.R.S.Avasthy, op.cit, p48; Dr.Radhey Shyam op cit, p.341-2.

2. B.N.II, p682-83; A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p.267; Afsan-i-Shahan, Cf. Dr. S.B.P.Nigam, p.59; Dr.Radhey Shyam, op.cit, p.351.

Jiwana's son that on 21st May Biban and Bayazid, the two renowned Afghan leaders had made an assault on the fort of Luknoor and occupied it and that three days later when they heard of the approach of the Mughal army they fled towards ¹ Dalmau. The activities of the Afghans in Uttar Pradesh once more compelled Baber to march against them. He halted at Chaksar on the banks of Sarju in the Signi Pargana of the Azamgarh district. Here he learnt that Biban and Bayazid had crossed the Ganges at Dalmau, and were retreating towards Chunar. Baber summoned his amirs to consult them. It was decided that Muhammad Laman Mirza, Mahmud Khan Muhani, Sultan Junaid Barlas, Qazi Lia, Taj Khan Sarangkhani should march towards Chunar and block enemy's passage ² and check their movements towards Chunar. After having despatched this army Baber appointed Aisan Timur Sultan, Be Khub, Sultan Muzaffar Husain, Sultan Qasim Khwaja, Jafar Khwaja, Alam Khan of Kalpi, Malik Dad Karrani and Rao Sarwani to march towards ³ Dalmau and drive away Biban and Shaikh Bayazid from there. He himself also marched leisurely in that direction. Hotly

1. B.N. II, p. 680-1; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit. p. 352.

2. B.N. II, p. 682-83; Gulbadan Begum (Trans) p. 111-112; Rizivi, MAB (Humayun) p. 10; Afsan-i-Jahangir, Cf. Dr. B.P. Nigam, p. 29; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit, p. 352.

3. B.N. II, p. 682; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 487.

chased by the Mughals Biban and Bayazid fled to Mahoba in ¹
Barakar Malinjar. In this way two local rebel afghan chiefs
were driven away from the Moab and the bone of afghan opposition
in the Uttar Pradesh was completely broken for the time being.

The first six months of the year 1529 were spent by
Baber in military activities. His continuous military
operations completely exhausted and undermined the vitality
of his soldiers. They were now completely tired of ceaseless
activities. Consequently, he gave orders to them to return
to their respective assignments, spend the rainy season there
and thereafter return to his service. Accordingly, he ordered
Baqi Khan to return to Ayodhya, assigned Amroha with 30 lakhs ²
as allowance to Musa son of Maruf Farmuli and after having
honoured him gave him leave. On 21st June, 1529 he resumed his
journey to Agra. Passing through Kalpi and Etawah he arrived
at Agra on 24th June 1529.

From June 1529 to December 1530 only a few political
events of importance occurred in the region under review. At
Jambhal the position of the Mughals was no better partly
because of the opposition of the local population to the

1. B.N.II, p.685; Gulbadan Begum (Trans) p.112; Briggs,
II, p.64; Dr. Radhey Chyam, op.cit, p.352.

2. B.N. II, p. 685.

Mughal governors and partly because of the fact that the local Afghan chiefs still continued their repeated invasions in order to recover this stronghold, which they hoped to convert into base of operations. It is related that after the conquest of Lambhal, Ali Yusuf was appointed to hold it. After his death, Abdullah Kitabdar was sent there and thereafter Hindu Beg and after sometime both of them returned to Agra and waited on Baber. Why did they return from there without being summoned to Emperor's presence ? Baber is silent and does not mention the reason. Nor does any other authority. It can however be presumed that the hostile local population did not permit any of the Mughal officers to stay there. And the situation continued to be quite alarming until the assignment of Sambhal to Prince Humayun. After Humayun's arrival at ¹ Lambhal and his stay there, the position of the Mughals improved. Within no time the local population reconciled itself to the Mughal administration.

In March, 1530 Prince Humayun undertook an expedition ² to Kalinjar because its ruler had risen in arms against the Mughals and invaded Kalpi and opened its siege. ³ Upon Humayun's

1. B.N.II, p.688; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p.116; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit, p.39; Dr. S.A. Banerji, op.cit. p.14; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op, cit. p.360;

2. Gulbadan Begum (Trans) p.21-22; Dr. Radhey Shyam, op.cit. p.362.

3. Gulbadan Begum, (Trans) p.20.

approach the Hindu Raja withdrew from Kalpi. Shortly after, Humayun arrived at Kalpi. He restored order there and then returned to Sambhal¹. It seems that Humayun remained at Sambhal till the last gasp of his father's life so as to keep a close watch over the activities of the Afghans in the Doab and its neighbouring regions. It appeared that during his stay at Sambhal from March-April to December 1530 Humayun successfully kept the Afghans at distance. He did not allow them to raise their head and create disturbances here and there.

However, the Kalinjar campaign of Prince Humayun was the last event of utmost importance in Baber's reign in general and history of Uttar Pradesh in particular. It unmistakably points out the Mughals were keen to extend their authority over the remotest corner of this region, including the fertile tracts and the strategically situated places. Up to Baber's death in 1530 the Mughals had successfully established their authority over the region extending from Agra to Aharid in Ballia and had compelled a large number of Afghan chiefs to submit. It appeared for a little while that the period of confrontation and conflict between the imperial power and the local chiefs had come to a close but it was not so. No doubt that with the death of Baber on 26th December 1530 the first phase of the Mughal activity in Uttar Pradesh came to a close but very soon another phase, which could aptly be described as the phase of survival was to begin.

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1. Gulbadan Begum (Trans) p.25; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p.116; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit, p.58; Dr. S.K. Banerji, op.cit, p.21;

CHAPTER II.

(STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A GHAN POWER
IN
THE REGION OF JIHA PRADESH.)
(1530 - 1540)

After the death of Baber, Humayun ascended the throne on 29th December 1530 under the title Nasiruddin Muhammad Humayun Badshah Ghazi and assumed the full insignia¹ of royalty. The same day Khutba was read in his name in Jami mosque at Agra and coins were struck in his name at Agra² and Jaunpur to mark the inauguration of a new regime. Honours were also bestowed upon the high amirs and the princes of the royal family. Askari was transferred to Sambhal and the task of protecting the eastern frontiers of the Mughal empire was entrusted to Sultan Muhammad Junaid Barlas from his head quarters at Jaunpur.

On Humayun's accession to the throne the hold of the Mughals over Uttar Pradesh was quite weak. It is true that the Mughals claimed to be masters of this entire region

1. Gulbadan Begam (Trans)p.25;A.T.(Trans)Vol.I,P.286
Nizamuddin Ahmad, 'Tabqat-i-Akbari'(Trans)p.41; Rizivi, MKB
(Humayun)p.5 Brakine, Vol.II.p.3; Dr. S. K. Banerji, op.cit.p.17;
Dr. R.S. Awasthy, op.cit. p.61;

2. Tarikh-i-Ibrahimi, Cf, Dr. R.S. Awasthy, op.cit.p.61.

but by no means their position was secure or their hold over this region was complete. In fact only the Doab, with most important towns like Sambhal, Balpi, Benaras, Agra, Bahraich, Lucknow, Ayodhya, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, Gorukhpur and the region extending up to Kharid in Ballia district was under their authority. Even this region was not free from small or bigger pockets of resistance. Therefore, like the previous reign, in the reign of Humayun too this region witnessed feverish political activities visa vis the struggle between the imperialists and the local chiefs. It is not difficult to explain the causes of this struggle and the conflict between the imperialists and the local chiefs. The interests of the local chiefs were deeply enshrined in the land under their control and since their power and authority rested upon this control, they were not prepared to give it up so easily. However, following in the foot steps of his illustrious father Humayun also made persistent efforts to curb the rebellious tendencies of this region which yielded maximum revenue to safeguard the imperial interests and to extend the imperial authority in different directions by bringing under his control the most important strategic places situated in various parts of this region.

We are quite familiar with the political events of Humayun's reign but are completely ignorant of the importance of the course of events which took place in this region and

which at length determined the fortune of the ruling power. At the out set it should be mentioned that political unrest in this region was responsible for Humayun's difficulties and his subsequent expulsion from Hindustan. The first event in the chain of such events was Humayun's second campaign to Kalinjar in August-September 1531. It may be recalled that as early as 1530, in the western region of Hindustan events of far reaching consequences took place. Baber chiefly remained preoccupied with them. Taking advantage of ~~his~~ ^{his} ~~the~~ ^{the} empire, Raja Rudra Pratap the ruler of Kalinjar decided to lay his hands on Kalpi. He founded the city of Orchha in March 1530 and made it a base of his military operations. The establishment^{of} such a base threatened the Mughal position in Kalpi and which in turn endangered the Mughal position in Jaunpur because Kalpi commanded the route to Agra and Jaunpur both. Before Humayun could mobilise his forces towards

1. Abul Fazl refers about this event and says that five and six months after his accession Humayun turned his attention towards the conquest of the fort of Kalinjar, A.I. (Trans) Vol.I, p.288; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) p.45; Erskine, Vol.II, p.9; Dr. J.K. Banerji, op.cit. p.36; Dr. R. Avasthy, op.cit, p.89; Rizvi, MKB(Humayun) p.7.

2. Badaoni (Trans) Vol.I ~~1881~~, p.361; Dr. R. Avasthy, op.cit. p.89; Dorn, p.101. Nizamuddin Ahmad, 'Tabqat-i-Akbari' (Trans) Vol. II, p. 45.

Kalinjar to conquer and occupy it, he was called upon to face the rebellion of Muhammad Laman Mirza. The latter rebelled at Jaunpur, declared his independence and assumed the insignia of royalty. The emperor took prompt steps to suppress the rebellion. The Mirza was defeated, captured, deprived of his office and assignment but his life was spared when he took the oath of loyalty and allegiance. Later he was forgiven and was given Farrukhabad in assignment.

This was followed by alarming political developments in the western region of Hindustan. Sultan Bahadur Shah the ruler of Gujarat conquered and occupied Malwa on 25th March, 1531 and annexed it to his kingdom. His growing power and high soaring ambition now began to threaten the south western line of Mughal empire. The ambition of Raja Rudra Pratap Deo to conquer Malpi and the activities of Sultan Bahadur Shah the ruler of Gujarat, compelled Humayun to realise the gravity of the situation and take steps to protect his patrimony and the newly founded Mughal empire in Hindustan. Besides, it was the question of territorial security of the region of

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.I, p.288; Briggs, Vol.II, p.72; for details about this rebellion see, Dr. R.L. Avasthy, op.cit.p.69; Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "Life And Times of Humayun", p.49; and Dr. S.K.Banerji, op.cit p.29;

2. Dr. R.L. Avasthy, op.cit.p. 70.

3. A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p.289; 213.

4. On next page

Uttar Pradesh which prompted him to march towards Kalinjar. The fort of Kalinjar was a strong fort and which was strategically situated and which if conquered and occupied could easily enable him to check the rise of the neighbouring potentates, e.g. Raja Rudra Pratap of Kalinjar, Sultan Bha Bahadur Khan the ruler of Gujarat and Bikan and Bayazid, the leaders of the Afghan opposition. When there was danger of formation of a coalition between the three powers against the Mughals. Though Humayun's expedition against the fort of Kalinjar in the early part of his reign has been criticised by some of the modern historians but in view of the situation explained above it can be justified and can be regarded as sheer outcome of political necessity.

1 He marched with a large army towards the fort of Kalinjar. In September-October 1531 he arrived there, surrounded the fort and opened its siege. He pressed the siege and compelled the Hindu chief to open negotiations for peace. The latter offered to surrender the fort but later prevaricated and refused to surrender the fort. Ultimately, a treaty was agreed upon and according to the terms of the

4. A.I. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 289; Nizamuddin Ahmad, "Tabqat-i-Akbari" (Trans) Vol. II, p. 47; Erskine, Vol. II, p. 39; Briggs, Vol. II, p. 269; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p. 90-113; Dr. J.N. Day, Medieval Malwa, p. 316.

1. A.I. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 288; Nizamuddin Ahmad, "Tabqat-i-Akbari" (Trans) Vol. II, p. 45; Sadaoni (Trans) Vol. I., p. 451; Briggs, II, p. 213; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p. 29; Dr. Ishwari Prasad, op.cit. p. 49; Dr. S.K. Banerji, op.cit. p. 29.

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treaty the Hindu chief gave 12 maunds of gold to Humayun. Thereafter, the latter raised the siege and withdrew. It was at Malinjar that Humayun learnt that Sultan Mahmud assisted by Bayazid and Biban and Sher Khan together with a large army had swooped down upon Jaunpur and had successfully driven away the Ughal army from there towards Kara-Manikpur. Thus, immediately after concluding peace with Raja Rudra Pratap Deo, Humayun marched with his army towards Jaunpur via Chunar in November-December 1531. On the way he was much impressed by the strategic position of Chunar. However, without conquering it he marched ahead. On his approach the Afghans who were suffering from mutual jealousies and dissensions, broke and fled in different directions. Humayun then returned to Chunar to conquer and occupy it.

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Towards the close of Baber's reign the fort of Chunar was in the hands of Taj Khan Sarang Khani one of the

1. Ibid.

2. A.V. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 288-89; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 30; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p. 91; Dr. S.K. Banerji, op.cit. p. 29; Dr. Ishwari Prasad, op.cit. p. 50.

3. Gulbadan Begum (Trans) p. 27; Jauhar, Tazkirat-ul-Maqiyat (Trans Stewart) p. 3; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 290; Tarikh-i-daulat-i-Sher Shahi, Cf. Dr. S.B.P. Nigam, p. 18; Maqiyat-i-Mushtagi (Rizivi, MKB Humayun); Dr. S.K. Banerji, op.cit. p. 42-43; Dr. Ishwari Prasad, op.cit. p. 50; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p. 92.

4. Tarikh-i-daulat-i-Sher Shahi, Cf. Dr. S.B.P. Nigam, p. 18; Maqiyat-i-Mushtagi (Rizivi, MKB, Humayun) p. 7; Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, Cf. Dr. S.B.P. Nigam, p. 167; Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi, Cf. Dr. S.B.P. Nigam p. 346; Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V p. 343; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 244; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. I, p. 470-71; Krskine, Vol. II, p. 10; Rizivi, MKB (Humayun) p. 7; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p. 94-5; Dr. Ishwari Prasad, p. 50; Dr. S.K. Banerji, op.cit. p. 29.

most important chief of Sultan Bika dar lodi, who had appointed him as governor and commandant of the fort of Chunar. After the death of his benefactor he refused to pay allegiance to his son^{and} his successor Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Throughout the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi Taj Khan continued to enjoy autonomous position. The defeat and death of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat and the chaos and confusion which followed it, further strengthened his position in Chunar. The harrying Mughal forces under Prince Humayun in 1526-27 in the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh and again under Baber in the western as well as eastern regions during 1529 and again under Prince Humayun in 1530 in the region round Kalinjar could hardly shake his position. However, Chunar remained free from foreign invasions. Some time in the beginning of 1531 Taj Khan Darang Kani was murdered. His widow Lad¹ Malika for her own security married Sher Khan and placed at the disposal of her second husband her entire wealth and fort of Chunar. The fort of Chunar gave a commanding position to Sher Khan in eastern Uttar Pradesh from where he could easily carry on his expeditions against the Mughals in Jaunpur and

1. Tarikh-i-Sher-Shahi, Cf. Dr. S.B.P. Nigam; p.151-52; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p.244; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p.288; Erskine, Vol. II, p.11-13; Dr. K.H. Qamingo, Sher Shah, p.94-3; Kizivi, MKB (Humayun) p.7; Waqiyat-i-Mushtagi, Cf. Dr. S.B.P. Nigam, p.18; Kizivi (MKB, Humayun) p.7.

Nuhani kingdom of Bihar. But before he could do so Humayun appeared before Chunar in January-February 1532 and opened its siege.¹ While he was still continuing the siege, he recieved alarming reports that the entire region extending from Jaunpur to Kannauj had been conquered and occupied by the Afghan insurgents. This threatened his position. Now, he had to choose in between courses either to continue the siege operations and conquer the fort of Chunar or to abandon it and mobilise the army against the Afghan chiefs, who had created a havoc in the region lying between the rivers Ganges and Gomti.² He preferred the latter course. During the next few months he pursued the Afghans and dispersed them again. Uttar Pradesh, during this period was the main scene of his activities. During this period no well contested battle took place and therefore the fortunes of the either party remained undecided. At the beginning of the rainy season, Humayun together with his army withdrew to Agra without even recovering the fort of Jaunpur from the hands of the Afghans.³

1. A.I. (Trans) Vol. I, p.289; Rizivi, (MKB, Humayun) p.8-9; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. I, p.470; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabcat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p.156; Tarikh-i-Daulat-i-Ber-un-nabi, Cf. Dr. S.B.P. Nigam, p.22.

2. Gulbadan Begum (Trans) p.27; Jauhar (Trans) p.3; A.I. (Trans) Vol. I, p.290; Bayazid Biyat, Tazkira-Humayun wa Akbar (Rizivi, MKB, Humayun) p.482; Erskine, Vol. II, p.10; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit, p.94.

3. Gulbadan Begum (Trans) p.27; Jauhar (Trans) p.3; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 290; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p. 95.

The decision to suspend the military operations during the rainy season of 1532 and his return to Agra was hardly a wise decision in the face of the mounting Afghan opposition in the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh. As a matter of fact Humayun should have realised the importance of Jaunpur and should have not returned without recovering it from the hands of the Afghans. It can be definitely said that from April to June 1532 he instead of playing his game played the game of the enemy in this region. Again he should have known that no sooner he will open the siege of the fort of Chunar than the Afghan leaders would fall upon the region extending from Gomti to Kannauj in order to create a diversion for him. And this is what the Afghans did. Taking advantage of his preoccupation with the siege of Chunar, they drove away the Mughal officers from the foresaid region. Thus, they not only became the masters of an extensive region but also the collectors of revenue from the peasants for the harvests of April and May 1532. No wonder Humayun suffered not only the loss of revenue but prestige and territory both.

Throughout the rainy season, which he spent at
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Agra, Humayun must have pondered over his losses. Ultimately, he did realise the importance of the fertile region of eastern

1. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, Elliot & Dowson Vol.Vp.349; Jauhar (Trans, Stewart) p.3; A.W.(Trans) Vol.I, p.289; Erskine, Vol.II, p.213, Dr.R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p.95, Nizamuddin Ahmad, 'Tabqat-i-Akbari' (Trans) Vol. II, p. 61.

Uttar Pradesh and decided to recover it from the hands of the Afghans. Thus, at the end of October 1532 he marched towards the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh to deal with the Afghans and recover the lost territories. The Afghans had collected under the leadership of Bayazid and Biban. They had determined to fight the Mughals. Ultimately a battle took place between the opposite parties. This battle is known as the battle of ¹ Dorah. We have two different versions of

1. According to Abbas Khan Sarwani the battle was fought near Lucknow- Tarikh-i-Jahar Shahi, Cf. S.B.P. Nigam, p.166 while according to Jauhar it was fought at Dorah on the banks of Sai. See, (Trans Stewart) p.3; Miyaamatullah holds the same view. See Dorn, p. 102; According to Dr. S.N. Banerji the battle was fought in a village in Nawab Ganj tahsil of Barabanki district. See, Humayun Padshah, Vol. I, p.42; while according to Dr. R.S. Avasthy the battle took place at Daura. See, The Mughal Emperor Humayun, p. 96; According to Richard Burns the site of the battle was probably Daunrua estate on the bank of Sai river fifteen miles east of Jaunpur. Quoted by Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p.97 (n). The author of Afsan-i-Jahahan mentions that the rival armies ^{came} face to face near the village of Doh-rah, a dependency of Daryabad pargana in Barkar Lucknow. See, Afsan-i-Jahahan, S.B.P. Nigam, op.cit, p.65; also quoted by Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, History of Jahar Shah Sur, p.35. Thus, Prof. Qanungo's statement that Dorah was situated about 8 miles west of Sultanpur 10 miles south of Musafir Khana and five miles south from Ali Ganj and about 150 miles north east of the town of Jaunpur, where the highways, one running from Agra Via Allahabad eastward through Sultanpur to Fyzabad and beyond and another from Chunar via Jaunpur to Lucknow cut one another, can not be accepted.

As regards the date of the battle, different dates have been given. According to Prof. Qanungo and Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, the battle of Do-rah took place in the middle of September 1531. See, Dr. Qanungo's, "Jahar Shah and His Times", p. 107; Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, 'History of Jahar Shah Sur', p.35. But according to Dr. R.S. Avasthy the battle took place in October 1532. See, The Mughal Emperor Humayun p.96, Dr. Avasthy's date seems to be correct.

this battle and yet it is difficult to say as to where the battle actually was fought. Besides, the opinion as to whether Sher Khan, the ruler of Chunar joined the Afghans in this battle or remained a silent spectator is a controversial subject. However, since Uttar Pradesh was the scene of Afghan activity, it became essential to throw light on this important battle. It is related, that as usual the Afghans used Bihar as base for their military operations. If Abbas Khan Barwani, the author of Tarikh-i-Bihar Bahari is to be believed, Sultan Mahmud Lodi became the spear head of this movement. He approached other Afghan leaders of Bihar for military support against the Mughals. Since, Sher Khan's army was small, he neither refused to cooperate with as his refusal was to bring about his ruin, nor he decided to give whole hearted support, because he was quite familiar with the fact that the supporters of Sultan Mahmud Lodi suffered from mutual rivalries and jealousies. However, he decided to avoid the conflict with both the Afghans and the Mughals by leaving Bihar and going to Bahasram. In Bahasram he was forced by Sultan Mahmud Lodi to march with him for the conquest of Jaunpur. But Sher Khan secretly entered into alliance through Hindu Beg that he would desert Sultan Mahmud Lodi in the time of battle. He accompanied the Afghan army to Jaunpur. Having captured Jaunpur without any difficulty, the Afghans advanced towards Lucknow. In the meantime, Humayun rushed from Agra to deal with the Afghans, On his approach the

Afghans prepared themselves to offer battle. The rival armies came face to face near the village Dorah, a dependency of Jaryabad pargana in the Jarkar Lucknow. In the thick of the battle Bayazid lost his life. On his fall the Afghans broke and fled. And thus Humayun gave a good beating to the Afghans. As regards Sher Khan he managed to flee from the battle because he was quite certain of the fate of the battle and he wanted to maintain better relations with the Mughals.

The defeat of the Afghans in the battle of Dorah to some extent consolidated the position of the Mughals in eastern Uttar Pradesh. Within a short time Humayun recovered the entire region lying between Ganges and Ghagra, which he assigned to his own governors. The Mughals also recovered Jaunpur and Benaras and ¹ Kannauj. Thereafter, he appointed Tukhta Jugha Sultan in Oudh ² Sultan Junaid Barlas was reinstated in Jaunpur and Hindu Beg was left behind to negotiate with Sher Khan to persuade him to surrender the fort of Chunar. These were purely administrative appointments to protect Benaras, Jaunpur and the trans-Gangetic plains of Uttar Pradesh. Thereafter, Humayun returned to Agra.

Shortly after Humayun's departure Hindu Beg opened negotiations with Sher Khan. Hindu Beg demanded the

1. Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit.p.102.

2. Gulbadan Begam (Trans) p.39; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit, p. 102, Hizamuddin Ahmad, "Tabqat-i-Akbari" (Trans) Vol.II, p. 62.

unconditional surrender of the fort to the Mughals; that he should come personally and attend upon the Mughal Emperor and that he should accept khilat and an assignment, which shall be conferred upon him by the Mughal Emperor and lastly that one of his sons should remain at the Mughal court as hostage. The negotiations between Hindu beg and Sher Khan continued for some time and in the end they broke down. Sher Khan refused to accept the terms, because the acceptance of such terms were likely to weaken his position in Southern Bihar, of which he had become the virtual master after the defeat of the Afghans in general and Sultan Mahmud Lodi in particular.

The refusal of Sher Khan to surrender the fort of Chunar was open defiance of the Mughal authority. No sooner did Humayun learn about the failure of Hindu Begs diplomatic mission than he decided to take action against Sher Khan. In November 1532 he despatched the main part of his army to Chunar to open its siege and himself followed soon after. Meanwhile, Sher Khan repaired the defences of the fort and leaving his son Jalal Khan Sur along with Jalal Khan bin Jilu, Hajib Khan Khasa Khail and a strong garrison inside the fort of Chunar, he himself withdrew to the neighbouring hills of Baharkunda.¹ Shortly after the Mughal forces arrived

1. Gulbadan Begam (Trans) p. 28; Nizamuddin Ahmad, 'Tabakat-i-Akbari' (Trans) Vol. II, p. 47-62; Briggs, Vol. II, p. 84, xxxix Dr. R. S. Avasthy, op.cit. p. 104.

and opened the siege to the fort of Chunar. The siege continued for nearly four months. The Afghans under the leadership of Jalal Khan Sur and Jalal Khan bin Jilu offered resistance and bravely defended the fort. While the siege of the fort was still continuing Humayun received alarming reports from the eastern region. About February 1553 he received the news that Sultan Salim Shah the ruler of Gujarat had invaded Chittor. His invasion on Chittor endangered the Afghan position in the western region and therefore to safeguard the north western line of defence of the Afghan empire Humayun deemed it proper to return to Agra. Getting an inkling of Humayun's mind Sher Khan opened negotiations for peace with him. He began the peace talks and dictated his own terms. Without understanding the consequences and without crushing his enemy Humayun accepted these terms. Sher Khan was allowed to retain the fort of Chunar and he was not even asked to pay any kind of tribute. In return Sher Khan agreed to send his son Iqbal Khan Sur with Isa Khan Hajib and a contingent of only 5000 horse to attend

1. Afsan-i-Shahan, Cf. S.B.P. Nigam, opcit.p.60-64; Tarikh-i-Jahan Nodi, p.310-11, Cf. S.B.P. Nigam, p.330; Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, Cf. S.B.P.Nigam,p.350; Erskine, Vol.II.p.10; Elliot & Dowson, Vol.V.P,152-231; Dorn,p.103; Stewart,p.3.; Briggs, Vol.II,p.83.

2. A.N. I(Irans) p.228; E & D, Vol. V, p.31, Dorn p.103; Nizamuddin Ahmad, "Tabqat-i-Akbari" (Irans), Vol.II p.62.

3. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, Cf. S.B.P. Nigam, p.167; 168.

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upon Humayun and accompany him to Agra. It must be admitted that the conclusion of the treaty with Sher Khan was an error of judgement on Humayun's part. Had he continued the siege a little longer he would have not only succeeded in conquering and occupying the fort of Chunar but would have also succeeded in opening the gates of Bihar. It was unfortunate that he played into the hands of the enemy. He himself gave time and opportunity to Sher Khan to consolidate his position in eastern region of Uttar Pradesh, collect the Afghans and make adequate military preparations for opening the offensive against the Mughals in future.

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After concluding the treaty with Sher Khan,

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Humayun returned to Agra probably at the beginning of March-April 1533. He stayed here for about a year. In April-May 1533 his mother fell ill and died on 6th May, 1533. Thereafter, the court remained in mourning and after forty days, perhaps in June-July 1533 Humayun set out for Delhi to lay the

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1. Tarikh-i-Bandi, p. 106; Dorn, p. 103; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p. 105.

2. Gulbadan Begam (Trans) p.24; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p. 105; Dorn, p.103.

3. Gulbadan Begam (Trans) p.24; Mizivi, MAB (Humayun) p.385 Jauhar (Trans, Stewart) p.3 ; A.I. (Trans) Vol.I, p.289; Dr.R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p.95; Orskine, Vol.II, p.112

4. Gulbadan Begam (Trans) p. 24; Dr. L.A. Banerji, op.cit. p. 62.

5. Khwandmir, Elliot & Dowson, Vol.V, p.124; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op, cit, p.120.

for foundation of new city called Pan-Panah, on the hill near Jamuna at a distance of three kos from Delhi in the middle of August 1533. He laid the foundation of the new city on an auspicious day fixed by the astrologers. The first brick was placed by him and then the courtiers and the ¹grandeers of the empire followed his example. Khwandmir has given a graphic description of this new city. After celebrating his birthday in the new city with great pomp and splendour, ²Humayun returned to Agra.

On his arrival at Agra Humayun spent some-time in holding feasts and celebrating the marriage of his brother Mirza Hindal. Gulbadan Begam has given a very interesting ³account of the mystic feast and Hindal's marriage. These festivities ended in December-January 1534. In January 1534 ⁴Muhammad Zaman Mirza rebelled in Farrukhabad. He killed his father Haji Muhammad Koka and thereafter he was joined by Muhammad Sultan Mirza with his son Ulugh Beg Mirza. So sooner

1. Khwandmir, E & D, Vol. V, p. 124; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 289; Rizivi, MKB, (Humayun) p. 415; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. I, p. 472.

2. Khwandmir, E & D, Vol. V, p. 124; Dr. R. S. Avasthy, op. cit. p. 120; Rizivi, M.K.B (Humayun) p. 415; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 289.

3. Gulbadan Begam (Trans) p. 24; Dr. S. K. Banerji, op. cit. p. 62;

4. Gulbadan Begam (Trans) p. 30; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 289; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 30; Erskine, Vol. II, p. 14; Dr. R. S. Avasthy, op. cit. p. 131; K. R. Qanungo, op. cit. p. 135; Dr. S. K. Banerji, op. cit. p. 69.

did Humayun received the news of the rebellion of Muhammad Laman Mirza than he took immediate steps to deal with him.¹ He marched with a large army towards Farrukhabad. On the way he halted at Bhojpur.² From here he sent Yadgar Nasir Mirza with an advance party. The latter crossed the Ganges, defeated the combined forces of the rebels and arrested Muhammad Laman Mirza and other Mirzas. The captives were sent to Bayana, where they were confined in the prison and placed under the charge of Humayun's own father-in-law Yadgar Beg Taghai. In this manner Humayun successfully suppressed the rebellion in the district of Farrukhabad and drove away the rebels from the foresaid district.³ By the end of May 1534 for Humayun there was no problem in any part of Uttar Pradesh and consequently he turned his attention to the western region where a different panorama was unfolding in itself.

1. Gulbadan Begam (Trans) p. 29. A.I. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 280; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, (Trans) Vol. II, p. 30.

2. Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p. 131; Erskine, Vol. II, p. 13; According to Dr. J.K. Banerji Bhojpur is situated in Bihar. See, Humayun Padshah, p. 69; Dr. Ishwari Prasad has also committed an error in identifying it and has confused with Bhojpur Bihiya, which is situated between Muxar and Chausa in Bihar. See, The life And Times of Humayun; p. 128; Bhojpur in question is situated in the modern district of Farrukhabad in Uttar Pradesh.

3. Gulbadan Begam (Trans) p. 29; A.I. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 124; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 30; Erskine, Vol II, p. 73; Dr. J.K. Banerji, op. cit. p. 69.

Up to October-November 1534 Humayun remained out of Agra. After suppressing the rebellion of Muhammad Laman Mirza he spent nearly eight months in the imperial capital and also at Delhi, Gwalior and Dholpur, keeping a close watch over the political developments taking place both in the eastern and western regions. The only event of utmost importance in the region under review was the return of Muhammad Sultan Mirza to Kannauj, who had somehow managed to escape from the fort of Bayana with his two sons. Here he recovered his normal sight and after some time starting with sense of humiliation he began to look out for an opportunity to wreak vengeance upon the Mughal Emperor Humayun.²

In October-November 1534 Humayun returned to Agra from Gwalior and stayed there for a few days. Here he pondered over the situation as it was developing in the eastern and western region and decided to encamp at a place from where he could keep himself in touch with the political developments of the two regions. His choice fell on Kalpi, a place from where he could continuously attend to all the eventualities. From⁴

1. Gulbadan Begam (Trans)p.37; Erskine, Vol.II,p. 13; Prof.K.R.Qanungo,op,cit.p. 148; Dr. S.K. Banerji,op.cit. p.95; Dr. R.S. Avasthy,op,cit.p. 152.

2. A.N.(Trans)Vol.I. p.293;Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II,p.61; Dr. R.S. Avasthy,op.cit.p.132.

3. Erskine,II,p.13;Dr.R.S.Avasthy,op.cit,p.145; Dr.S.K.Banerji op.cit.p.93; Dr Prof. K.R. Qanungo,op,cit,p.147.

4. A.N.(Trans)Vol.I,p.293;Dr.R.S. Avasthy,op.cit,p.145.

Kalpi he could keep an eye over the different places of Uttar Pradesh and also over the rebellious centres like Kannauj, Oudh, Jaunpur, Benaras and Chunar. Kalpi was on the high way. Through Kara-Manikpur ran the road to Jaunpur in the east and Chanderi in the west. Agra, Kalpi, Kara-Manikpur to Jaunpur was the shortest route which connected Agra with Jaunpur. Likewise, to Chanderi the road ran from Agra via Jalesar, Chandwar, Kanar passage, Kalpi, Irij Kachwa to Chanderi. The road from Ujjain to the eastern region also passed through Kalpi and through the Chambal valley, It commanded the straight route to Ranthambhor also. Thus, Kalpi was centrally situated and from where Humayun desired to conduct the affairs of his empire ¹ vise versa to deal with his enemies in the eastern and western region.

Humayun left Agra for Kalpi in October-November 1534.² while he was still on the way at Kanar, he received the news about the serious developments in the western region due to the aggressive designs of Sultan Bahadur Shah, the ruler of Gujarat. It was here that he learnt that his position

1. Baber mentions the same route in his Memoirs. B.I.II, p. 508; 650; 659; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p.146; Erskine, Vol.II, p.16; Dr. S.K.Banerji, op.cit., p95; Prof. K.R.Qanungo, op.cit. p.147.

2. A.V.(Trans) Vol.I, p.292-3; Erskine, Vol. II, p.16; Dr.R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p.151; Dr.S.K.Banerji, op.cit, p.94; Rizivi, MKB (Humayun) p.14.

was threatened from two different sides; that Alauddin had been sent towards Malinjar and Tatar Khan who had conquered and occupied the fort of Bayana was marching towards Agra. He found the ground slippery but he did not lose courage. To counterfoil the designs of Sultan Bahadur Shah the ruler of Gujarat, he sent Mirza Hindal and others with a large army to deal with Tatar Khan Lodi and check his further advance, while he himself retreated from Kanar to Agra where he spent about two and half months¹.

During the next two years the centre of political activity shifted from Uttar Pradesh to the western region, comprising of Rajasthan, Malwa and Gujarat. From February 1535 to August-September 1536², Humayun remained busy in Malwa and Gujarat. During his absence from the capital the Afghans of the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh again raised their head. Taking advantage of his prolonged absence and weak position in the Doab and the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh, the Afghans under the leadership of Sher Khan moved from Bihar with a large army and entered Uttar Pradesh to carry on successful inroads into the border districts.³

1. A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p.293-94; Gulbadan Begum(Trans) p.37; Erskine, Vol.II, p.16; Dr.R.S. Avasthy, op.cit.p.151; Dr.S.K. Banerji, op.cit, p.94.

2. Gulbadan Begum(Trans) p.38; A.N.(Trans) Vol I, p.298; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) p Vol 4 p.61; Erskine, Vol.II, p.48; Dr.S.K.Banerji, op,cit, p.95.

3. Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit.p.228.; Erskine, Vol.II, p.134-5.

About the same time Muhammad Sultan Mirza too came out in his true colours in July-August 1536 to pay back the Mughal emperor Humayun in his own coins. He emerged out and marched from the ~~ab~~ bank of river Sarju to Kannauj to stir up trouble in that quarter. He arrived at Bilagram. Here he dislodged Khusaru Beg a relation of Tiflan Beg Kokaltash and converted it into a base of his military operations. From Bilagram he marched towards Kannauj and conquered it. It was from here that he sent his sons Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza with a large army towards Jaunpur and Kara-Manikpur respectively. Finding it difficult to stand against Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his two sons Khusaru Beg Kokultash the Mughal governor of Kannauj hastily returned to Agra to seek the assistance of Mirza Hindal. The latter rose equal to the occasion and without losing a single moment he made adequate military preparations and then marched towards Kannauj to suppress the rebellion of Muhammad Sultan Mirza.¹ On his arrival at Bilagram he found that the rebel was encamping on the left bank of the Ganges and was waiting for his two sons. Mirza Hindal immediately decided to take advantage of the absence of his two sons. An immediate attack upon the enemy was decided upon with the help of Tiflan Beg. After having discovered a ford at the distance of ten miles Mirza

1. Jauhar, Rizivi, MKB(Humayun) p.592; A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p.322
Brinkine, Vol.II, p.108-9; Dr. R.S.Avasthy, op.cit. p.228.

Hindal crossed the Ganges and reached the other bank. Early next morning he fell upon the enemy and inflicted a crushing defeat upon him.¹ Muhammad Sultan Mirza in utter desperation took to flight and did not take rest until he was joined by his son Ulugh Mirza in Gwah in November-December 1536.

Mirza Hindal closely followed him and entered Gwah.³ Before he could overtake him, he found that he had already joined his son Ulugh Mirza,⁴ finding it difficult to defeat the combined forces of Muhammad Sultan Mirza and Ulugh Mirza, Hindal did not deem it proper to engage them in battle. The rival armies remained encamped opposite each other for about two months.⁵ Early in February 1537

1. Jauhar, Mizivi, MKB (Humayun) p. 591; Stewart, p. 14; Erskine, Vol. II. p. 78; A.V. (Trans) Vol. I. p. 320 ; 322.

2. Bayazid, Tazkira Humayun wa Akbar, Mizivi, MKB (Humayun) p. 592.

3. Jauhar (Trans, Stewart) p. 8-9; Bayazid, Tazkira-Humayun wa Akbar, Mizivi, MKB. (Humayun) p. 493; Dr. S. K. Banerji, op.cit. p. 176-77; Dr. R. S. Avasthy, op.cit. p. 229, Nizamuddin Ahmad, 'Tabqat-i-Akbari' (Trans), Vol. II, p. 65.

4. Jauhar (Trans Stewart) p. 17; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 322; Erskine, Vol. II, p. 80; Dr. S. K. Banerji, op.cit. p. 177. Dr. A. N. Qanungo, op.cit. p. 167-8; Dr. R. S. Avasthy, op.cit. p. 229. Nizamuddin Ahmad, 'Tabqat-i-Akbari' (Trans) Vol II, p. 65.

5. Jauhar (Trans Stewart) p. 8-9; Bayazid Biyat, Tazkira Humayun wa Akbar, (Mizivi, MKB) p. 493; Dr. S. K. Banerji, op.cit. p. 176-77; Dr. R. S. Avasthy, op.cit. p. 229.

6. Jauhar (Trans, Stewart) p. 17; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 292; Erskine, Vol. II. p. 96, 139; Dr. S. K. Banerji, op.cit. p. 177; Dr. R. S. Avasthy, op.cit. p. 229; K. N. Qanungo, op.cit. p. 167-8;

news arrived that Humayun had returned from Gujarat and was somewhere near Agra. Another fresh wave of confirmation of this news forced Muhammad Sultan Mirza to realise that any delay in opening the offensive against the imperialists may turn the tables upon him. He rightly thought that Mirza Hindal may be reinforced from Agra at any time or the emperor might reach in person to second the efforts of his brother or personally take the field against him. Therefore, he opened the attack but was again defeated and put to flight. He fled to Sambhal.¹

The crushing defeat which Hindal inflicted upon Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his son Ulugh Mirza in Oudh coincided with Humayun's arrival at Agra in February-March 1537 A.D.² Situation in Uttar Pradesh was no better owing to the activities of the Mirzas in the region round Sambhal and in the eastern region. The Mughal prestige was at the lowest ebb owing to the rapid success of the Afghans under Sher Khan, who had now made himself the master of the large number of districts such as Gorukhpur, Ballia, Ghazipur and Benaras and had strengthened his position in the fort of Chunar. So as to oust the Afghans

1. Erskine, Vol. II, p. 126-39; K.R. Ganungo, op.cit, p. 174; Dr. S.K. Banerji, op.cit, p. 202; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit, p. 239; Mizivi, MKB (Humayun) p. 53.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 292, 329; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit, p. 239; K.R. Ganungo, op.cit, p. 174; Dr. S.K. Banerji, op.cit, p. 202; Erskine Vol. II, p. 26.

from the ~~afar~~ aforesaid districts, Humayun appointed Hindu Beg, the governor of Jaunpur and asked him to send a report of the activities of the Afghans under Sher Khan. Likewise, Mirza Askari was ordered to march towards Sambhal to drive away Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his son from that area. In obedience of the royal order Mirza Askari marched to Sambhal which had been assigned to him in jagir. He made his efforts to drive away the Mirzas from Sambhal but by the time he could reach there to his utter surprise the Mirzas managed to escape to the borders of Bengal. He was much disappointed and instead of charging the rebellious chief he returned to Agra. In short, within no time the imperialists reestablished their hold over the entire region extending from Kannauj to Jaunpur.

Hindu Beg also proceeded to take his charge. His appointment as governor of Jaunpur caused great anxiety in Sher Khan's mind.¹ On the confirmation of the news about the appointment of Hindu Beg, Sher Khan immediately abandoned his plan of conquering the eastern region and he withdrew from the Gorakhpur district. And it seems that he also withdrew his men from Banaras, Ballia and Ghazipur. Not only this, in order to allay the suspicion of the Mughal emperor, he also sent rich presents to the Mughal governor Hindu Beg. Thus, on his arrival at Jaunpur Hindu Beg found that Sher

1. Gulbadan Begum, 'Humayun Nama' (Trans) p.39; A.N. (Trans) Vol.I, p.292; Jauhar (Trans) p. 14; Dr.H.S. Avasthy, op.cit, p. 261; 264; K.R.Qanungo, op.cit.p.175.

Ahan was no longer carrying on hostile activities against the Mughals or threatening in any way the Mughal position in the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh. Since there was no reason to feel concerned about Sher Khan, Hindu Beg exchanged the messages of goodwill with the leader of the Afghans and asked him to behave well and lead a carefree life.¹

Meanwhile Sher Khan conquered and occupied Bengal. The news of the conquest of Bengal by Sher Khan caused stir in the political circles which ultimately led to the beginning of the feverish activities in the region under review. The conquest of Bengal by Sher Khan in June-July 1537 and his firm hold over Bihar posed a new threat to the Mughal empire visa vis the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh. Before the enemy could mobilise his army from Chunar and establish his hold over eastern Uttar Pradesh and the Doab the two regions of vital importance, Humayun completed his warlike preparations, collected 5,000 soldiers, 2700 elephants and a large park of artillery.²

Before marching towards the eastern region Humayun took precautions to protect his empire, during his

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 291-92.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 230; Wizamuddin Ahmad, 'Tabqat-i-Akbari' (Trans) Vol. II. p. 62, 64; Jauhar (Trans, Stewart) p. 5-9; Dr. Ishwari Prasad, 'The Life and Times of Humayun', p. 118; Dr. K.S. Avasthy, op.cit, p. 274.

absence. Mir Fakruddin Ali was given the charge of Delhi, Mir Muhammad Bakhshi was appointed to take care of Agra and its suburbs and Kalpi was entrusted to Yadgar Vasir Mirza. The government of Qannauj was taken away from the hands of Khusaru Beg Kokaltash and entrusted to Humayun's brother-in-law, Nuruddin Muhammad Mirza, the father of ¹Salima Begum.

After having made these administrative arrangements Humayun set out from Agra on 23rd July 1537 A.D. towards the east. He was accompanied by Mirza Hindal, Mirza Askari, Rumi Khan, Tardi Beg, Baisana Beg Bharlu, Qasur Husain Uzbek, Zahid Beg, Jahangir Quli Khan and others. The imperial army travelled by water and land. The main part of the army proceeded by land. Since the rainy season was still in full swing it impeded the progress of the Mughal army. At Kara-Manikpur owing to the inundation of the river, the imperialists could not cross over the opposite bank and thus they had to remain there for about next two months. It was at the end of the rainy season that the imperialists resumed their march and arrived at a place, which was ten miles from Chunar (January.18, 1538 A.D ²).

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.I, p.331; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.I, p. 471; Jauhar (Trans Stewart) p.8.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol.I p.331; Mizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, (Trans) Vol.II.p.61; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.I, II, 340,p.349 K.R. Qanungo, op.cit., p.176; Dr.S.K.Banerji, op,cit.p.92.

having arrived near fort of Chunar, Humayun consulted his nobles regarding the future course of action. Surprisingly enough he found the opinion divided. It was suggested that precedence should be given to the siege of Chunar and thereafter attention should be turned towards Bengal.¹ Whereas Khan Khanan Yusuf Khail as Dr. R.L. Avasthy has mentioned "Condemned it as short sightend plan", and he suggested to the emperor that he should firstly conquer and occupy Bengal, take possession of the vast treasure and then should turn his attention towards Sher Khan and conquer Chunar.² Khan Khanan Yusuf Khail also added that the conquest of Bengal would fecilitate the conquest of the fort of Chunar. After due thought Humayun approved Hindu Beg's suggestion. while accepting Hindu Beg's line of action humayun was conscious of the safety of the Mughal possessions which extended as far as Banaras and he was eager to protect the eastern Uttar Pradesh, which formed a valuable part of his empire, whereas the plan suggested by Khan Khanan Yusuf Khail would have left behind a number of Afghan pockets of resistance not only on the borders of eastern Uttar Pradesh but also beyond it.

1. A.J. (Trans) Vol.I,p. 331; Rizivi, MKB, 42 (Humayun) p. 42; Jauhar (Trans, Stewart) p.22; Erskine, Vol.II,p.43.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol.I,p.331; Gulbadan Begam (Trans) p. 272; Rizivi,MKB. (Humayun) p.42; 43, Erskine, Vol. II, p.40 ; K.R, Qanungo,op.cit.,p.177; Dr. R.L. Avasthy,op. cit.,p. 272.

However, the conquest of Chunar was considered to be most important for the liquidation of Sher Khan.

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The second siege of Chunar began in January 1538 under the supervision of Rumi Khan, the hero of Chittor. The siege started with full vigour but in spite of the best efforts of the Mughal troops, the chances of victory seemed to be quite remote. The fort was gallantly defended by Jalal Khan and Khawas Khan. At length realising that the Mughal artillery was not creating any impression, Rumi Khan smuggled one of his Negro slaves into the fort and through him discovered that its walls were weak and penetrable on the side of the river. Thereafter, he formed a plan to deliver simultaneous attacks upon the fort both from the side of land and water. After striving hard for nearly four to five months, he succeeded in constructing a floating battery. In May 1538 he mobilised the flotilla of boats on which the siege guns were loaded. A little later several assaults were made from the land and river side and a portion of the wall of the fort of Chunar on the river side was blown up. Through the breach thus created, the Mughals made an attempt to enter the fort but failed. The Afghan garrison bravely defended the fort. Seven hundred assailants lost their lives. Afghans did a

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.I, p. 331; Jauhar (Trans, Stewart) p, 23; Erskine, Vol.II p.140; Dr. A.K. Banerji, p. 140; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit., p.270.

great damage to the flotilla of boats and the siege guns. Despite this heavy loss of men and munition, Humi Khan did not lose heart. He stopped making further onslaughts on the fort and by mid-night repaired the battery to resume the military attack next morning.

Humi Khan's determination to storm the fort compelled the Afghan garrison to surrender the fort. Outb Khanpur and others managed to escape. The rest of the Afghans, numbering about 2000 surrendered the fort to Humayun on the "promise of safety of life and immunity from punishment". Immediately after the conquest and occupation of the fort of ¹ the Chunar Humayun celebrated the victory. A grand darbar was held, the nobles were honoured and rewarded. Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his sons, who had recently offered submission were pardoned. Nor did the emperor forget to honour Humi Khan. The latter was appointed as governor of the fort of Chunar but shortly after he was poisoned by the envious Mughal officers. On this occasion Hindu Beg was honoured with the title of Amir-ul-Umara, and he was also appointed governor of Jaunpur.²

1. A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p.331-332; Jauhar (Trans) Stewart) p.10; Gulbadan Begum (Trans) p. 135, Badaoni (Trans) Vol. I., p.456; Erskine, Vol.II, p. 140-141; Dr.S.K.Banerji, op.cit., p.199 Dr.R.S. Avasthy, op.cit., p.270-271; Rizivi, MKB, (Humayun) p.42.

2. A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p.332; Jauhar (Trans) Stewart) p.10; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol II, p.67; Gulbadan Begum, (Trans) p.135 Badaoni (Trans) Vol.I, p.457; Erskine, Vol.II, p.142; Dr.S.K.Banerji, op.cit., p.199; Dr.R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p.202; Rizivi, MKB (Humayun) p.497.

After making administrative arrangements to protect the two gates which lay in the eastern Uttar Pradesh and which formed the nucleus of his empire, Humayun decided to recover Banaras and subdue the trans-Gangetic region. Humayun marched towards Benaras, conquered and occupied it and stayed there for a short while. Quite unaware of the great catastrophe waiting for him, Humayun left Banaras in charge of Mir Fazl, and marched ahead. Hindu Beg, the governor of Jaunpur died about this time. He was succeeded by Baba Beg Jalair. No sooner did Humayun cross into Bihar than the political scene shifted for a while from the eastern Uttar Pradesh to Bihar and Bengal.

The next series of important events in the history of the region under study took place during the years 1538-9, when the Mughal emperor Humayun was stranded in Gaur and the anti-imperial forces began to gain momentum in the various parts of Uttar Pradesh. During Humayun prolonged absence, a plot was hatched at Agra to over-throw his regime. The seditionists under the leadership of Mirza Nuruddin Muhammad invited Mirza Hindal to come and declare his independence¹ at Agra. Hindal readily responded and in October-November 1538.

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.I p.337; Arskine, Vol.II, p.142-3, Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit., p.303; K.R. Qanungo, op.cit., p.193; Dr. S.K. Banerji, op.cit., p.200; Rizivi, MKB. (Humayun); 499.

left his new assignment in Purena and Trihut and marched towards Agra, without seeking prior permission of the emperor or without his knowledge.¹ About the sametime taking advantage of the prolonged absence of Humayun from Agra and developments which^{were} taking place at Agra, Sher Khan with a view to consolidate his position decided to establish his hold over the fertile regions of the Uttar Pradesh visa-vis its important strategic places. Accordingly, he sent a strong and powerful Afghan army under Haibat Khan Hiyazi, Jalal Khan, Bin Tildaur and Sarmast Khan Sarwani to drive away the Mughals from not only Oudh but also from Baharaich and region extending upto Sambhal. Sher Khan himself attacked Benaras, conquered and occupied the fort and put its governor Mir Fazl and his 700 men to sword.² Another detachment under Qutb Khan Nasib and Haji Khan marched to conquer and occupy the territory between Banaras and Jaunpur. The Afghans marched upto Jaunpur and opened its siege. The siege dragged on for some time because the garrison was soon joined by³ the discomfited Mughal soldiers of the neighbouring areas.

1. A.N. (Trans), Vol I.p. 336-37; Erskine, Vol.II,p.140-45; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit.p.303-4; Rizivi, MKB(Humayun) p.49.

2. Ibid.

3. Afsan-i-Jahan, Cf, S.B.P. Nigam, op.cit, p.181; Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi, Cf, S.B.P. Nigam, op.cit.p.352; Erskine, Vol.II, p. 149.

Sher Khan's successes in conquering and occupying Benaras and the region upto Jaunpur on the one hand and Sambhal on the other was an important political development in the region under review. The Mughal authority seemed to be waning in this region. Sher Khan consolidated his position in his recent acquisitions by appointing his amils to collect the revenue both of Rabi and Kharif and secondly he made efforts to conquer the other strategic places¹ of Uttar Pradesh, like Kannauj, Aara-Manikpur and Chunar. And before Humayun could come out of Bengal to fall upon his enemy Sher Khan, the latter sent Jalal Khan bin Jilu Sur to block all the ways of ingress to the Mughal camp in Bengal. He himself crossed over to the other bank of the Ganges attacked and conquered Kannauj. According to Jauhar, Sher Khan thereafter sent the family and children of Mirza Said Alauddin Bukhari to the fort of Rohtas² and then fell upon Aara-Manikpur and occupied it also. He marched ahead and opened the siege to the fort of Chunar. But the Mughal governor Beg Mirak, even though he did not receive any reinforcements from the centre, successfully defended it.

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. I. p. 336-37; Erskine, Vol. II, p. 157; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p.307-308.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 338-39; Erskine, Vol. II, p. 173; Rizivi, MKB (Humayun) p.71.

The recent successes of the Afghans threatened the Mughal position in the territory west of Ganges. Shortly after, a different panorama started unfolding in itself in Agra the imperial capital. On his arrival at Agra Hindal found himself in the "pockets of the loyalists", such as Mir Fakhr Ali, the Governor of Delhi, Mir Muhammad Bakhshi, the Governor of Agra, Yadgar Nasir Mirza, the Governor of Kalpi and members of the royal family. So great was their influence on him that for the time being he had to abandon the idea of declaring his independence. He even crossed the Jamuna to recruit fresh troops and march towards Kara-Manikpur and Jaunpur. But the seditionists in order to bring him back to their fold, at length threatened him by conveying through his messengers that "henceforth we do not serve the king. If you, as you have already proposed, will have the Khutba read in your name will enter your service, and render you faithful allegiance else we should go to Mirza Kamran, where happiness and welcome are awaiting us." Even this threat could not prove effective.

Meanwhile, the Afghans succeeded in cutting the line of communication between Bengal and Agra. The news from different parts of the Mughal empire ceased to reach Humayun. Humayun's eyes were now opened. He and his supporters took a serious view of the situation. It was decided to return from Gaur. But even the retreat was not so easy because had to summon his men from different parts

of Bengal and with himself he had a very small army. Many of the beast of burden and soldiers had died in the sultry climate of Bengal and a large number of soldiers were still lying ill. Besides, his own officers like Bahid Beg, Haji Muhammad Tashqa, Zindar Beg and Khusraru Beg Kokaltash were unwilling to stay in Bengal. The question which haunted his mind was how should he leave Bengal. However, while he was still in a fix, he sent Shaikh Bahlol to Agra to persuade prince Hindal to march with an army from the west against Sher Khan, assuring him that he would swoop down upon the Afghans from the east.

While Sher Khan was still besieging the fort of Chunar, Shaikh Bahlol reached Agra. His arrival disappointed the seditionists. Nevertheless Hindal fell under the influence of Shaikh Bahlol and made arrangements for marching towards the east. But all of a sudden affairs took a turn. In November-December 1538 Shaikh Bahlol was murdered by the seditionists and Mirza Hindal was forced to declare his independence. Thereafter, he marched to invest the fort of Delhi. Worried by the rebellion of Mirza Hindal at Agra and Sher Khan's activities in Uttar Pradesh Humayun started from Gaur. While on his way back Humayun deliberately did not follow the route which ran all along the northern bank of the Ganges and chose the southern bank for further march towards the west. Perhaps it was on account of the fact that during the absence of the emperor in Bengal Sher Shah had entrenched himself in this

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region. He had extended his hold over Kara-Manikpur, besides
had conquered Benaras, and Jaunpur and besieged Chunar. If
in sheer haste the emperor would have proceeded towards
Jaunpur to defeat the Afghans in that quarter and join hands
with Baba Beg Jalair, who was still defending to fort against
the Afghan troops, the emperor would have committed a gross
error. The conquest of Jaunpur, which was situated in the
heart of the region, invested by unruly Afghans would have
been a difficult proposition.

So sooner did Humayun leave Gaur for Agra than
Sher Khan, who was besieging the fort of Chunar left the
siege of the fort in the hands of his men and himself withdraw
to Ahtas to complete the second phase of his scheme. Meanwhile,
Humayun, proceeded all along the Southern bank of the Ganges
which he found unsafe for his army. Despite this, he
continued his march and encamped opposite Mungher. Here
Mirza Askari joined him and submitted a report about Sher
Khan and his activities. According to the suggestions
offered by his nobles Humayun crossed over the other side

1. Abbas Khan Sarwani wrongly calls it Agra, see.
Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi. Cf. S.B.P. Nigam, p.182; Niyamat-ullah
also mentions Agra, Cf. Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit; p.308.

2. Jauhar (Trans Stewart) p. 12-13; Mizivi, MKB, (Humayun)
P. 599; Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, Cf. S.B.P. Nigam, p. 181-182;
Tarikh-i-Khan-Jahan Lodi, Cf. S.B.P. Nigam, p. 352.

of the Ganges and resumed his march all along the southern bank to reach Chunar at the earliest, which was still held by the Mughal commandant Beg Mirak. On the way he experienced great difficulties. At Maner he had to fight an indecisive engagement with an Afghan army. The Afghans continued to hover round his camp and harass him. With great difficulty he arrived at Chausa. Here he crossed the river Karmanasha by a bridge in March 1539. while the imperialists were still ~~was~~ encamping on the western bank of the river Karmanasha Sher Khan arrived with his army from Rohtas. Here, Humayun also received a detailed report of the developments taking place in different regions of Uttar Pradesh and also at Agra.

It has been related earlier that Shaikh Bahlol was murdered at Agra by the seditionists. This was followed by the declaration of independence by Mirza Hindal and the siege of the fort of Delhi. Mir Fakhr Ali boldly defended the fort and invited Mirza Kamran to his assistance. A little before Kamran's arrival at Delhi, there was a general stampede in Mirza Hindal camp and as a result of it many lost their lives. Mirza Hindal, abandoned the siege and withdrew to Alwar. Shortly after, Kamran reached Agra. He summoned Mirza Hindal and pardoned him.

Now, the events began to move faster than the wind. At length, the opposite armies of the Mughal emperor Humayun and Sher Khan fought a battle. In the battle of Chausa.

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Humayun was badly defeated and put to flight. With that difficulty Humayun managed to cross the river Karmanasha, said good bye to Bihar and entered Uttar Pradesh. The Afghan general Barmazid Gaur continued to pursue him in the rear and Shah Muhammad Afghan blocked his further march from the front. Fortunately, Raja Bir Bhan, the Hindu chief of Arail and his men came to his rescue. They defeated Barmazid Gaur and Shah Muhammad and compelled them to withdraw. Thereafter, Humayun resumed his march and arrived at Chunar, where he stayed for a few days. Next he proceeded to Arail, where he stayed for a next four or five days to enjoy the hospitality of the Hindu chief. Humayun, then crossed the Jamuna and arrived at Manikpur. The emperor spent few days at Kara where took some rest. After that he proceeded towards Kalpi, where on arrival he was coldly received by Qasim Qaracha.

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1. For the details of this battle See, A.N.(Trans)Vol.I. p. 345; Jauhar, Rizivi (MKB, Humayun)p.605; Gulbadan Begum (Trans)p.140; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II, p. 72; Tarikh-i-Jahar Jahani, Cf. Dr. S.B.P. Nigam, p. 182; K.R. Qanungo, op.cit.p. 197-199, Dr. J.K. Banerji, op.cit.p.223; Dr. Ishwari Prasad, op.cit.p.125; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit, p. 335; Erskine, Vol.II, p. 167-8; Badaoni, (Trans) Vol.I. p. 460-62; Braj Narain and S.R. Sharma, Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India, p. 5-6.

2. Gulbadan Begam (Trans) p. 140; Jauhar, Rizivi M.K.B, (Humayun) p. 605; Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit.p. 334.

3. K.R. Qanungo, op.cit.p. 206-207; Dr. J.K. Banerji, op.cit., p. 226, 235; Dr. R.S. Avasthy op.cit, p.347.

Humayun thought it unwise to prolong his stay at Kalpi and therefore he proceeded to Agra where he arrived in the end of July 1539 with only five hundred horsemen.

Meanwhile, Sher Shah marched towards Agra. In ¹March 1540, he crossed the Ganges and occupied Kannauj. ²While his son Qutb Khan Sur attached Kalpi and Etawah. The emperor sent Mirza Hindal and Askari against him. Qutb Khan was defeated and killed probably at Chandwar near Kalpi and his head was sent as a trophy to the capital.

With the defeat and death of Qutb Khan Sur the whole plan of Sher Khan came to premature end. Humayun now considered this victory over the Afghans, as an auspicious hour for his final advance against Sher Shah. On 16th March, ³1540, he marched towards Kannauj approximately with ninety thousand horses and a large park of artillery. In only a ⁴week's time he arrived and encamped at Bhojpur. The rival

1. A.I. (Trans) Vol.I., p. 345; Jauhar, Rizivi, M.K.B. (Humayun) p.606, Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol II, p. 73; Dr. S.K. Banerji, op.cit. p. 235; Dr. R.. Avasthy, op.cit. p. 359; Dr. Ishwari Prasad, op.cit. p.134

2. Tarikh-i-Rashidi (Trans) p. 471-2; A.N. (Trans) Vol.I, p. 346;

3. Dr. R.. Avasthy, op cit. p. 362; Erskine, Vol.II, p. 181, Dr.S.K. Banerjee op.cit., p.240; K.R, Qanungo op.cit., p.226.

4. A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p.342-9; It is situated on the eastern bank of the Ganges. Rizivi, MKB, (Humayun) p.79; Dr. R.. Avasthy, op.cit, p. 362.

camps now lay on the opposite bank of the river Ganges. The Mughal army took a shortest route from Agra via Mainpuri to reach the Ganges by way of Hamshabad (in the district Farrukhabad). The first encounter with Sher Shah took place at Bhojpur ferry, which in 16th century was on the western bank of the Ganges but now stands on the eastern bank owing to the shifting course of the river. Bhojpur was in Sarkar Kannauj of the 'Ain, and is about 8 miles south-east of Farrukhabad and 30 miles north-west of Kannauj. Meanwhile Sher Shah had withdrawn his forces from beyond the river Ganges. And his plan was to prevent any crossing of the river by the Mughals from the Kannauj side except when it would suit his own convenience. He had seized all the boats on the Ganges and brought them over to the eastern bank. A large fleet of Sher Shah's war boats cruised on the river keeping a close watch on bank of the Ganges and to guard all the ferries from Bhojpur to Bhogaon in the Unnao district. Sher Shah had expected Humayun near kannauj. When he discovered that the destination of Mughals was further up he hurried to the Bhojpur ferry.¹

1. A.N. (Trans), Vol. I, p. 349; Ahmad Yadgar ~~xxxxxxxx~~
Tarikh-i-Salatin Afghana, Rizivi, MKB, (Humayun), p 78-9;
Dr. R.S. Avasthy, op.cit., p 362.

being very keen and impatient to avenge his humiliation and to retrieve his honour, the emperor decided to cross the Ganges and fight Sher Shah without delay. Sher Khan came with large army to the other side of the Ganges. Upon this the Emperor determined to cross the river with his small army and in a short time a bridge was constructed at the Bhojpur ferry.¹ Having suffered a repulse at Bhojpur which Abul Fazl has mentioned as victory, Humayun changed his plan and fear of Sher Shah gripped his army. His soldiers proceeded warily and slowly march by march to Kannauj. On the way the enemy's boats came in sight. A gun was fired from the royal artillery and a large boat was sighted upon this the imperial army stopped proceeding further. For more than one month the armies confronted one another near Kannauj.² The Mughal army appears to have ~~en~~ encamped on the Ganges, in front of the old city of Kannauj.³

On the eastern bank, opposite Kannauj the only place of any importance which could serve as a base of operations of the Afghan army was Bilgram.⁴ This place

1. A.N.(Trans) Vol.I.p.349-50; Rizivi.MKB., (Humayun), p.70-610-11.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol.I.p.350, Rizivi, MKB, ~~Vol. I~~ (Humayun), p.79.

3. According to Abul Fazl, Humayun reached Kannauj and did not march beyond it, see A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p.350, Jauhar (Trans) P.21, Rizivi, MKB (Humayun), p.611.

4. Bilgram has a brick fort (in Barkar Lucknow), Ain, Vol. II, p. 189.

lies at a distance of about 6 miles N.E. in straight line from the historic Mehdi Ghat of later days, situated on the Bilgram¹ side of Ganges. The distance between the town of Kannauj and the ferry of Mehdi Ghat being about 6 miles north-east. It is clear from the account of Abul Fazi that Sher Shah's army and the flotilla, were working from Bhojpur to a point of opposite Kannauj, in the parallel direction of the Mughal army. Humayun was held up by Sher Khan about one month, somewhere near the north of Mehdi Ghat. Neither Sher Shah nor Humayun was at all anxious to cross the Ganges and fight. With a river behind his back each expected the other to cross and open offensive.¹ Humayun having crossed the Ganges encamped on the open alluvial plain of the Ganges¹ liable to inundated during the rainy season. This place could not be at a distance than three miles from the ferry of modern Mehdi Ghat to east of Bilgram. As Humayun did not pitch his camp later than the end of April 1540, there was no immediate danger to the Mughal camp from the yearly flooding of the Ganges. The Mughal encampment was within easy reach of the Ganges in the rear and the communicating bridge with the western bank remained intact and well guarded, On the left side of as has been mentioned

1. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, Cf. Dr. S.B.P. Nigam, p. 185-186
Dr. S.K. Banerji, op.cit. p. 240.

by Mirza Haider Dughlat, in his description of the battle of Ganges.¹

On May 16th, 1540² Akwas Khan became ready to join Sher Shah in opening the offensive.³ On 17th May, 1540 Humayun took armed precaution and arrayed his forces in battle formation in the field. By midday the battle was over and the Mughal troops had begun to rush towards the bridge on the Ganges, situated about five miles to the west from the battle field. The bridge gave way and many died in stampede and many were drowned in the river which was five fathoms or about five hundred yards deep. Humayun and his men fled in dismay before the Afghan army and crossed the river and following morning reached Kannauj. If we believe Abul Fazl, Humayun reached near Delhi in nine days passing through Bhogaon near Mainpuri town and thence to Agra.⁴

Agra is about 170 miles from Kannauj. The Mughals must have covered a distance of about fifty miles per day, excluding three days of halt upto Bhogaon.⁵ They followed the Grand Trunk Road. Here they met with considerable amount of opposition from the inhabitants of the neighbouring

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1. Mirza Haider Dughlat, Tarikh-i-Mashih (Trans, p.471-477.
 2. A.N. (Trans) Vol.I, p. 350.
 3. A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p. 350
 4. A.N.(Trans) Vol I, p. 350-351.
 5. A. N. (Trans) Vol.I, p. 350.

villages who were in the habit of plundering the vanquished and fleeing soldiers. In an affray Yadgar Vasir Mirza was badly wounded by an arrow and on his request Askari was sent to punish the villagers, but the latter got offended. A quarrel arose between the two Mirzas in which each whipped the other.¹ However, the villagers were punished and Humayun and his men proceeded on their onward journey to Agra. He now left the highway and probably proceeded by the present road that leads to Agra via Mainpuri and Firozabad.

At last Humayun somehow reached Agra. Instead of going to his palace, situated opposite the present site of Taj and later destroyed by Shahjahan to make room for his projected Mehtab Bagh, he proceeded to the residence of the renowned saint Mir Rafiuddin Jafvi,² and remained contented with simple comforts provided by him. Ashamed of his failure, Humayun avoided to visit his palace and instead sent for his men to visit him at saint's residence. The brothers, except Kamran and several other Mirzas gathered at Agra. But their deliberations had to be cut short for the Afghans were still pursuing the Mughals and it was dangerous for the Mughals to waste their time at Agra. Hence, reluctantly they left for Sikri, on their way to the North western frontier region.

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.I,p.350.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol.I,p.355; Jauhar(Trans, Stewart)p.21-22; Mizivi,MKB(Humayun)p.85; 612; Dr.R.S. Avasthy,op.cit.p. 376-377.

In the second week of May 1540 Humayun left Agra. He halted at Sikri probably with a view to receive his family and treasures. Hardly had he spent a few days at Sikri than his life became unsafe and therefore he had to resume his journey. The Afghans were close at his heels. During his onward march his fear from the side of the Afghans was confirmed. The peasants also harassed the royal party and impeded its progress. Consequently, the emperor had to proceed under special precaution. On May 20, 1540 he somehow arrived at Delhi and then said good bye to the people of Uttar Pradesh.

From the foregoing account it is almost clear that from 1530 to 1540 the extensive region of Uttar Pradesh witnessed great political activity. As emperor of the Mughal empire, Humayun made efforts to deal with the local chiefs, tried to suppress the rebellions and establish his hold over the important areas and strategic places. For consolidation of the imperial rule, the process of expansion and subjugation was necessary. Only then he could have succeeded in protecting the empire. But unfortunately a large number of potentates

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1. Dr. R. L. Kavasthy, op.cit., p. 377.
 2. Jaunhar, Mizivi, MKB, (Humayun) p.612;
 3. Gulbadan Begum (Trans)p.48, Erskine Vol.II,p.194.
 4. Jaunhar(Trans , Stewart) p.24, A.I. (Trans) Vol.I, p. 351; Mizivi, (MKB, Humayun) p.86-612;

in this region were against him and they did not give him breathing time. Very soon the eastern region of the empire was threatened by Sher Khan. The interests of the imperial power and Sher Khan began to clash in this region, for the former it was necessary to maintain hold over the gates of the east, ^{for} example, Jaunpur, Benaras, ~~and~~ Chunar and Kalinjar to preserve the territorial acquisition in the west and to prevent the rise of any power on the eastern borders of this region. No wonder the safety of the Mughal empire in the west and south east depended upon the hold of the Mughals on the Doab and the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh. But for Sher Khan eastern Uttar Pradesh and the strategic places like Jaunpur, Benaras and Chunar were politically and economically important. The clash was inevitable and unavoidable under the existing circumstances. And no sooner did the Mughals surrender the strong gates of the east to the Afghans then they lost not only eastern region of Uttar Pradesh but the fertile plains of the Doab and the envelopment of the remaining parts of the empire became a question of time. Humayun should not have crossed into Bihar and Bengal, until the consolidation of the Mughal position in the extensive region which is covered by Uttar Pradesh. Only a slight error of judgement deprived him of the inheritance.

Chapter III

(1540-1556)

(1540-1556)

After the battle of Chausa Sher Shah assumed the title of Shah Sultan Adil and declared himself king. Thereafter, the scene of his political activities shifted from Bihar to the most fertile and populous region of Uttar Pradesh. He speedily occupied the whole region extending from the border of Bihar to Kannauj in the west. And after the battle of Bilagram he remained busy against Humayun. As regards Uttar Pradesh, which for sometime had been the scene of many political events, goes into the background for the time being because the Afghans had succeeded in recovering their lost prestige and territories in this region and secondly the new emperor spent his time in greater military activities in other regions of his empire. Elsewhere in other regions example- Malwa, Marwar, Raisen, Rajputana and Bundelkhand the events marched with the Emperor Sher Shah Sur. It was in November 1544 that he returned to south eastern Uttar Pradesh to open the siege to the fort of Kalinjar. The siege continued^u up to May 1545. On 22nd May he made an assault but returned half burnt. However, the nobles

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continued their efforts and conquered the fort on the same day. On the same day Sher Shah succumbed to his injuries.¹ The conquest and occupation of the fort of Kalinjar visa vis major portion of Uttar Pradesh was an important achievement of his reign. During the four years of his rule peace prevailed in Uttar Pradesh.

When Sher Shah breathed his last none of his two sons were present on the spot. The elder son Adil Khan was at Nanthambhor and the younger Jalal Khan was in Rewa. The latter with the help of Isa Khan and his party crowned himself on 27th May, 1543 at Kalinjar and assumed the title of Islam Shah Sur.² During his reign of about nine years, only a few events occurred in the region under review. He defeated his brother Adil Khan in Mandhakar a small town in the west of Agra and compelled him to take shelter in Rewa.³ Then he made

1. Badaoni (Trans) Vol.I, p.482-3; Briggs, II, p.123; Dorn, p. 141; Tarikh-i-Humayuni, Cf. Dr. S.B.P. Nigam, p.443; K.R. Qanungo, op.cit. p.338; Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, 'History of Sher Shah Sur', p.75; Afsan-i-Jahangir, Cf. Dr. S.B.P. Nigam, op.cit. p. 117; Bundelkhand District Gazetteer, p.454.

2. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabakat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II. p.176; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.I, p.482-83; Dorn, op.cit, p.142; Briggs, II, p.79; Erskine, Vol.II, p.447-8; According to the author of Tarikh-i-Humayuni, Islam Shah ascended the throne on 27th May, 1543. See, Elliot & Dowson, Vol.IV, p.478; Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, History of Sher Shah Sur, p. 81.

3. According to the author of Maqiyat-i-Mushtaqi, the battle took place in a market near Agra. Also see, Badaoni (Trans) Vol.I, 489; Erskine, Vol.II, p.449-51;

efforts to consolidate his position in south eastern Uttar Pradesh by repairing the fort of Chunar, transferring his treasures from Agra to Gwalior and by effectively dealing with the supporters of Adil Shah. These were the only activities of Islam Shah in this region. He died in 1553 at Gwalior.

From the death of Islam Shah in 1533 to the accession of Muhammad Adil Shah it seems no event of importance took place in this region. The reign of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah known as Adli was interesting in the sense that it saw the break down of the Afghan power and political chaos in this region. In the beginning of his reign Taj Khan Karrani rose in rebellion in the eastern region. He was joined by his brothers Imad Gulaiman and Khwaja Ilyas. Getting intelligence of this rebellion, Adli marched with his army and came to Chunar to crush the rebellion. He defeated the rebels and drove them away towards Bengal.

The second most important event in the history of Uttar Pradesh during this period was the rebellion of Ibrahim Khan Sur and Muhammad Khan Sur. Ibrahim Khan Sur was the husband of the elder sister of Adli and one of his chief supporters. While Adli was in Chunar Ibrahim Khan marched

1. Badaoni (Trans) Vol. I, p. 541-42; Dorn, op.cit. p. 174.

from Bayana which was his jagir and rose in rebellion. Since the Sultan Adli himself was very busy against the Karranis, he despatched Isa Khan Niazi against Ibrahim Khan. The latter faced the imperial army near Kalpi, defeated it and put it to flight. Thereafter, Ibrahim Khan Sur reached Delhi by forced marches and declared himself king there under the title Ibrahim Shah. He also took possession of Agra where the khutba was read in his name. Very soon he was joined by a large number of nobles and became a power to be reckoned with. No sooner did Adli learn about these developments than he marched towards Delhi. He arrived at Delhi but finding the wind against him he returned to Chunar leaving Delhi and Agra in the hands of Ibrahim Shah.¹

The example of Ibrahim Shah was followed by another Afghan chief Ahmad Khan,² He assumed the title of Sultan Sikandar Shah and marched against Ibrahim Shah. The rival forces met near Agra, where a battle took place between them. Ibrahim Shah was defeated and compelled to fly to Sambhal and then to Etawah.³ Sikandar Shah pursued him as far as

1. Badaoni (Trans) Vol. I, p. 541; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 202-3; Briggs, II, p. 90-92; Dorn, op. cit. p. 173-4; Erskine, Vol. II, p. 446.

2. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 204-5; Dorn, op. cit, p. 174; N. B. Roy, Successors of Sher Shah Sur, p. 68-71; Erskine, Vol. II, p. 446.

3. Ibid.

Utawah and then turned to deal with Adli. In this way
Likhandar became master of Agra.¹

The empire was now dismembered and on the ruins
of it independent principalities rose. Likhandar Shah became
master of the region extending from Agra and Delhi to the
Punjab. Ibrahim Shah held Lachhal and the Doab. While Adli
exercised his sway over the region extending from Chunar to
Bihar. Within no time quarrels started between them. Ibrahim
Shah collected a large army and marched towards Kalpi. Upon
this Adli sent his Qazir Hemu towards Agra and Delhi to lay
his hands upon them and to conquer and occupy them during
Ibrahim Shah's absence. Hemu marched against Ibrahim Shah
overtook him near Kalpi, defeated and put him to flight and
then pursued him up to Bayana which he besieged for three
months.²

Meanwhile, Raja Ram Chandra Son of Vir Shan, the
Baghela chief of Banuogarh increased his power considerably.
The Baghela chief extended his sway up to Kaimur hills in
the north and took possession of the fort of Kalinjar which
he purchased from Bijili Khan after paying him a heavy price.
Shortly after Ibrahim Shah marched from Kalpi attacked Kalinjar

1. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabcat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.ii.p.206;
Briggs II,p.92; Badaoni (Trans) VolII,p.541; N.B. Roy,op,
cit,p. 73; Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui,op.cit,p. 152.

2. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabcat-i-Akbari(Trans) Vol.II,p.206;
Briggs, II,p. 92; Dorn,op.cit;p.175; Dr. Moti Lal Shargava,
Hemu and His Times, p.50-1; N.B.Roy.opç cit,p. 74.

but was defeated and imprisoned by the Baghela chief, who¹ treated him with great honour.

While Hemu was still busy in besieging the fort of Bayana, Muhammad Khan Bar crowned himself in Bengal under the title of Sultan Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah, marched with his army towards the west of Agra and Delhi. He attacked Jaunpur and reduced it in 1554 and then marched towards Kalpi where he was opposed by Adli. Shortly after his retreat Adli² returned to Chunar.

Meanwhile, Hemu returned from Bayana and joined Adli with his forces. A little later they fell upon Muhammad Khan Ghuria at a village named Chapparghata near Agra and³ defeated and killed him. Shortly after this battle Adli sent Hemu towards Agra and Delhi to recover those places from the hands of the Mughals, who had expelled the Afghans from there and reestablished their hold there, while he himself returned to Chunar. Hemu then marched towards Delhi and Agra to recover them. Upon his approach the Mughal generals Sikandar Khan, Uzbek, Qiya Khan Gang and others abandoned Agra and⁴ withdrew to Delhi.

1. Badaoni(Trans) Vol.I ,p.554.

2. Dorn,op.cit,p.173;Briggs,II,p.92-93;N.B.Roy,op.cit,p.76; Erskine,Vol.II,p.502; N.B. Roy,op.cit,p.76.

3. Badaoni-(Trans)Vol.II,p.586;Wiga Dorn,op.cit,p.173; Briggs,II,p. 92-93;Erskine,II,p.502; N.B.Roy,op.cit,p.76.

4. Badaoni (Trans)Vol.II,p.586;Nizamuddin Ahmad,Taboat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II.,p.206;Briggs, II,p.93; N.B.Roy,op.cit. 76-77; Dr.Moti Lal Bhargava,op.cit.p.52-53.

Thus, the whole of the year 1554 was eventful and important in the history of Uttar Pradesh. Within a brief space of less than twelve months the battles of Farran, Kalpi, Khanwa and Chapparghata reduced Ibrahim Shah to shreds and broke the power of Sikandar Sur. Thus, two ambitious potentates, who were a serious menace to the imperial power and were rivals of Adli vanished like bubbles. Now so far as the mastery over the region under review was concerned, the contest was between Humayun and Adli. Hardly this issue had been decided, Khizr Khan, the independent ruler of Bengal who had assumed the title of Bahadur Khan, advanced as far as Jhansi in Allahabad. Adli who was then at Chunar marched against him and compelled him to withdraw. He overtook him near Surajgarha, fought a contested battle and lost his life. This event took place in 1557. With this ended the Afghan rule in the region under review.

Meanwhile, the Mughals under Humayun and then under his son Akbar started recovering every inch of this important region. The story of recuperation and consolidation has been related in the next chapter. However, during the Afghan rule from 1540 to 1555 this region had chequered history. It is true that there were few rebellions but it does not mean that there was uninterrupted peace and tranquillity in this region. Except during the short reign of Sher Shah, the eastern and the western regions of Uttar Pradesh

continuously witnessed the conflict between the rival Afghan claimants to the throne and the rise of the powerful and ambitious Afghan chiefs and the Baghela chief of Sandogarh in the south eastern region. In short as usual the tendency to defy the imperial power continued to survive.

Nothing could check it and no one could put it down for all the time to come with the help of his sword and army. Both the eastern and the western regions of Uttar Pradesh remained in a state of turmoil and passed through a very critical period.

CHAPTER IV

CONQUEST AND CONSOLIDATION

(1556-1605 A.D.)

Accompanied by his guardian Bairam Khan and a contingent of the Mughal force, Akbar encamped at Kalanaur, 15 miles west of Guardaspur in the Punjab, where he received the news of his father's death. It was here that the coronation ceremony took place on 14th February, 1556 A.D. A darbar was held, appointments to various offices were made and the Khutba was recited in the name of new sovereign Akbar. Thereafter¹ Akbar and his protector remained at Kalanur for sometime. In the view of the abnormal times, the precarious hold of the Mughals was limited to the region comprising the provinces of Delhi and Agra and a part of the Punjab. Even in this limited territory the position of the Mughals was far from satisfactory. Their authority was maintained by Mughal garrisons in the principal towns. To call this territory an empire would not be correct. Within seven months of Akbar's accession, the Mughal governors were driven out of

1. Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II. p.1.

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Etawah, Sambhal, Kalpi, Narnaul, Agra and other places and the capital city of Delhi was also lost early in October, 1556. In other places too there was considerable turmoil and disaffection against the Mughals, "whose counsels lacked unanimity and the troops solidarity." It has been mentioned earlier that the whole Uttar Pradesh was in disturbed condition. Ever since Babar's reign, except during the reign of Sher Shah and Islam Shah, both the eastern and western regions of Uttar Pradesh witnessed a series of disturbances. In the eastern region Afghans always remained powerful and restive. They either helped their kith and kins or combined with the local zamindars and discontented elements against the Mughals. Then there were the Mirzas, who with their headquarters at Sambhal always tried to fish in troubled waters. The early Mughal generals like Sultan Junaid Barlas, Hindu Beg and Baba Beg were more faithful to the throne and to the Mughal cause than men like Ali Quli Khan, Bahadur Khan and Asaf Khan who were posted in the region of Uttar Pradesh in the earlier part of Akbar's reign.

In this period of trial and turmoil there were three Afghan rivals and contestants for supremacy. Sikander,

1. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 214-221; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 5-6; Frederick Augustus, 'The Emperor Akbar', Vol. I, p. 70; Dr. Moti Lal Bhargava, Hemu And His Times, p. 71.

Adali and Ibrahim, but actually two of them played part. Sikander in the Punjab and some parts of Uttar Pradesh was quite powerful. Adali exercised his authority over a part of eastern region and held his court at Mirzapur. Thus, a number of the Afghan chiefs exercised their sway over the western, southern and eastern regions of Uttar Pradesh. Besides, a large number of Afghans had assembled near Jaunpur under the sons of Hasan Bachgoti and Jalal Khanpur to assert their power. But the most formidable of all the claimants to the sovereignty of Delhi was Adali's Prime Minister Hemu, who seemed to have aspired for the sovereignty of Hindistan. And the rest of the country was independent under local Hindu and non-Hindu chiefs.

On 13th October, 1556 news reached Akbar's camp at Jalandhar that Delhi and Agra had fallen into the hands of Hemu, who was originally a hawker of Saltpetere in the streets of Raiwari, but had risen to be the prime-Minister of Muhammad Adil Shahpur commonly known as Adali. On the receipt² of the news of the death of Humayun and accession of Akbar, he left Adali at Chunar and proceeded via Gwalior to Delhi.

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 45; Briggs, II, p. 112, Nizamuddin Ahmad, 'Tabqat-i-Akbari' (Trans.) Vol. II, p. 214, p. 223; Badaoni, (Trans) Vol. II. p. 10; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. V, p. 250; Bayazid Biyat, op.cit. p. 215; V. Smith, 'Akbar the Great Mughal', p. 26; Dr. A.L. Srivastava, 'Akbar the Great', Vol. I. p. 24.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 25, 45; Briggs, Vol. II, p. 112; N.B. Roy, op.cit; p. 82; Dr. Motilal Bhargava, 'Hemu And His Times', p. 72, Frederick Augustus, op.cit. Vol. I, p. 72.

with a view to exploit the situation to his advantage and drive the Mughals out of Hindustan. He availed the opportunity, took advantage of the mutual rivalries and the dissensions of the Afghans and established his authority in the region extending from Bayana to Delhi. Many districts of Ganga-Jamuna Doab also came peacefully in his possession. Iskandar Khan 'Izbeq, Governor of Agra fled without fighting. Qiya Khan abandoned Etawah, Abdullah Khan Izbeq Kalpi, Haidar Muhammad Khan Bayana and several others their respective places and all of them withdrew to Delhi. Tardi Beg, the Mughal governor of Agra and other districts requested Ali Quli Khan, who was preparing to recover Sambhal from Shadi Khan, an officer of Adali, to hasten to his assistance as it was his duty to defend the capital at all cost.¹ But before Ali Quli Khan could reach Delhi, a battle was fought between Tardi Beg Khan and Hemu on 7th October, 1556 A.D. ² near Tughalaqabad. After this battle, Hemu occupied Delhi and Agra and then started strengthening his position. He won over large number of Afghans by levishly distributing the booty seized from Delhi and became powerful enough to

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 25-26; 46; Briggs, II, p. 112; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 5; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 210; V. Smith, op. cit, p. 26; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 250; N.B. Roy, op. cit. p. 81.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 47; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 210; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 6-7; Briggs, II, p. 113; Dr. Moti Lal Bhargava, op. cit. p. 72.

declare his independence by assuming the title of
¹
Vikramaditya.

After the second battle of Panipat on 5th November, 1556 A.D. Akbar sent his detachments towards Delhi. The pursuit of the defeated army was also vigorously pressed by the victors next day. Without wasting a single moment the Mughals pushed towards Delhi and took possession of it. Likewise, Agra was also conquered and occupied by them.² Next day, with the main army Akbar celebrated his success. Thereafter, efforts were made to occupy the extensive region covered by Uttar Pradesh without which how could he claim to be emperor of Hindustan. However, expeditions were sent to different directions. Ali Quli Khan Shaibani who had received the title of Ahan-i-Zaman and the district of Sambhal together with a few other parganas in the Doab in Jagir was given leave so that he might go to³ Sambhal, establish his authority there and manage his jagir. He marched from Agra and defeated Hukn Khan Lohani, a notable officer of Adali and occupied Sambhal and the adjacent territory. Thereafter, he advanced further east wards to deal with Hasan

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 60; Briggs, II, p. 114; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 6-7; V. Smith, op. cit, p. 21-28; Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V, p. 250; N.B. Roy, op. cit, p. 82; Dr. Moti Lal Bhargava, op. cit, p. 72; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 217; Frederick Augustus, Vol. I, p. 72.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 70; Briggs, II, p. 115; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 217; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. V, p. 253; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 5-6; V. Smith, op. cit, p. 29.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 70-71; Briggs, II, p. 116; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 213; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. V, p. 253; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 6; V. Smith, op. cit, p. 30; N.B. Roy, op. cit, p. 97; Dr. Moti Lal Bhargava, Hemu And His Times, p. 72.

Khan Bachghoti and Jalal Khan who had collected 50,000 Afghans and were rushing towards Sambhal. Khan Laman gave them battle near Lucknow. Although the enemy possessed 20,000 cavalry, whereas his own force did not exceed more than, 4,000 yet he scored a splendid victory over the enemy and captured a large booty including war elephants, two of which named ¹ Abdillia and Dilshankar, were sent to Akbar as present.

² Abdulla Khan Jzbeq entitled Shujaat Khan was appointed to the district of Kalpi. The territory of Mewat which had been Tardi Beg's Jagir was conferred on Pir Muhammad Sherwani entitled Nasirul-Mulk, a confidential servant of ⁴ Bairam Khan. ⁵ Pir Muhammad went to Mewat and established his hold there. ⁶ Qiya Khan was appointed governor of Agra and was directed to take charge of it without delay. After a six months

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II.p87; Badaoni(Trans)Vol.II,p.5-6; Briggs, II,p.115; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II, p.213; N.B.Roy, op.cit, p.97-8; Dr.Moti Lal Bhargava, op.cit, p. 72-118.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II,p.71; Ain(Trans) Vol.I,p.320; Briggs, II,p. 115; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II, p. 215.

3. A.N.(Trans) Vol.II,p.71; Ain(Trans) Vol.I,p.365; Briggs, II, p.115; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II,p.214.

4. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II,p.71; Mewat is ill defined tract lying south of Delhi and in those times was largely inhabited by Meos and Mewatis and now it extends to other parts of the districts of Mathura and Alwar.

5. A.N.(Trans) Vol.II,p.71.

6. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II,p.71; Briggs, II,p.115; Badaoni(Trans) Vol.II,p.26; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II, p. 216.

stay at Delhi, Akbar accompanied by his court left for Agra on the 9th October, 1558¹. He took up his residence in Sikandar Lodi's brick fort then known as Badalgarh.

Immediately after the conquest of Agra an imperial army was sent against the Bhadauriya Rajputs of Hat-kant (a strong place in Bah sub-division of Agra district with a brick fort, 52 miles south east of Agra) in 1558 A.D. The Bhadauriyas had always been in revolt against the Sultans of Delhi and were famous for their courage turbulence and imprudence. Adam Khan who had been assigned Hatkant in Jagir, marched against the Bhadauriyas, defeated them and reduced them to submission.²

Despite the fact that a series of victories had been attained by the imperial armies in the different parts of Uttar Pradesh, yet the imperialists failed to establish their control over it. The Afghans in this region continued to be a source of trouble. It is true that Hemu had been defeated and killed in the second battle of Panipat in 1556 and the fate of Adali had been sealed but still the Afghans were strong and powerful and they were not prepared to submit. Being encouraged by the activities of the Afghans against the

1. A.V. (Trans) Vol.II.p.117; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II,p.12; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II,p.233; Elliot and Dowson, Vol.V,p.259; V, Smith, op.cit, p.30.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II.,p.119-20; Ain (Trans) Vol.II,p.194; Ain (Trans) Vol I,p. 488; Badaoni (Trans) VolII,p.26-27.

Mughals, Bahadur Shah s/o Sultan Mohammad Shah of Bengal started from Bengal to establish his authority over the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh. Upon this, Bairam Khan decided to deal with turbulent Afghans. He appointed Sikandar Khan temporarily at Jaunpur with specific instructions to conquer the fort of Jaunpur and then hand it over to Ali Quli Khan Laman.¹ Ali Quli Khan along with his brother Bahadur Khan² defeated the Afghans and occupied Jaunpur. Akbar sent another army towards the eastern districts in 1559 A.D. to take possession of Lucknow and it appears that it was about this time that eastern region of Uttar Pradesh was recovered from the hands of the Afghans.³ And by the time Bairam Khan stepped down and relinquished his office, Akbar's authority extended over the whole of the region under review.

But this does not mean that his problems were over in this region. The embers of opposition continued to lie beneath the surface and whenever there was an opportunity, the Afghans chiefs never failed to defy the imperial authority or giving a blow to it by raising the standard of revolt. And

1. A.N.(Trans) Vol. II, p.126; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p.12; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. V, p.239; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p.234.

2. A.N.(Trans) Vol. II, p.125-26; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p.12; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. V, p.239; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p.234-35; Briggs, II, p.126; N.B. Roy, op.cit. p.101; Dr. Moti Lal Bhargava, op.cit. p.120.

3. A.N.(Trans) Vol. II, p.88, 134-35; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p.18; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. V, p.260; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p.233; Briggs, II, p.115-117; Iqtidar Alam "The Political Biography of a Mughal Noble: Munim Khan," p.62.

thus it was an herculean task for Akbar to establish his permanent hold over this vast region which was of vital importance to him and his empire. His own fortunes vis-a-vis the fortunes of the empire rested upon his success in Uttar Pradesh.

Taking advantage of the politics at the Mughal court Sher Khan son of late Adil Khan attacked Jaunpur with 20,000 cavalry, 30,000 infantry and 500 elephants. Ali Quli Khan Laman, who was incharge of Jaunpur, defended the fort well. The Afghans reached Jaunpur and encamped on the other side of the river Gomti. In the absence of sufficient army the best course for Ali Quli Khan Laman was to remain on the defensive. On the third day, Monday 29th August, 1561¹, the Afghan army crossed the river and opened the siege of the fort.² Ali Quli Khan Laman who was aware of the impending danger, had already informed the neighbouring officers, namely Bahadur Khan, Ibranim Khan Uzbek, Majun Khan Lagshal of Manikpur, Shaham Beg Talair, Ali Mir Akbar and Kamal Khan Ghakkar of Kara. All of them, with the exception of Sikander Khan Uzbek, rushed to

1. Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 44; A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 215; Briggs, II, p. 126; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, (Trans) Vol. II, p. 233-34; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. V, p. 272; V. Smith, op. cit, p. 40; Dr. A.L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol. I, p. 56; A.B. Roy, op. cit, p. 103.

2. Ibid.

Khan Zaman's rescue. Shortly after Sher Khan along with Fateh Khan and a large army proceeded towards the mosque of Sultan Husain Sharqi. Upon this Ali Quli Khan Zaman came out of the fort to drive away the enemy. In this campaign against Afghans, the Mughal troops were led by Ali Quli Khan Zaman. A battle was fought outside the city of Jaunpur, near the embankment of Sheikh Bahlol, in which the Afghans under Sher Khan and Hasan Khan Bachgoti had the initial advantage of driving the Mughals into the walls of the city. Meanwhile, Ali Quli Khan Zaman with a number of distinguished men took the lead and defeated the enemy. "He assailed the enemy in the rear with arrows and destroyed the futile success¹ of the Afghans. A great victory was soon declared." This was the second imperial victory over the Afghans of the eastern region and it was due to the bravery of Ali Quli Khan Zaman. Thereafter, Ali Quli Khan Zaman established himself firmly at Jaunpur.

Later on acting in an independent manner like Adham Khan, Ali Quli Khan Zaman appropriated the booty he² had seized in the late battle against the Afghans in Jaunpur.

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.215-16; M.U., Vol.II, p.44-48; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p.234; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.44.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.227-28; Briggs, Vol.II, p.127; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.75; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p. 235; Elliot & Dowson, Vol.V., p.272.

and began to behave indiscreetly. Consequently, the emperor started with Munim Khan on 17th July 1561 A.D. towards the east to teach a lesson to Ali Quli Khan Zaman and compel him to surrender his share of the booty and to punish him. On the way Abdullah Khan joined him at Kalpi and when the imperial army reached Kara near Allahabad, Ali Quli Khan Zaman and his

CAMPAIGN AGAINST

brother Bahadur Khan waited upon

ALI QULI KHAN ZAMAN

the emperor Akbar and presented

the latter the elephants and other things, they had seized from the Afghans. Akbar accepted Khan Zaman's submission. while at Kara Akbar made certain administrative arrangements. He appointed Mubarak Khan as jagirdar of Kara and Fatehpur Hanswah probably with a view to keep an eye over the activities of the Uzbeks in the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh. Kamal Khan Gakkhar was transferred from the governorship of Kara and was succeeded by Abdul Majid Harvi better known as Asaf Khan.³ After making these administration arrangements Akbar returned to Agra.

Towards the end of 1561 the strong fort of Chunar came peacefully in the hands of Akbar. This fort was the seat

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.227-28; Briggs, Vol.II, p.127; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.76; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p.256-60; Elliot & Dowson, Vol.V, p.272.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.229; M.J. Vol.II, p.46; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II, p.256; Briggs, Vol.II, p.127; Ain, Vol.I, p.456.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.282; V. Smith, "Akbar the Great Mughal", p. 40; A.L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol.I, p. 59.

of administration of Sher Khan's son of Adali, after whose defeat at Jaunpur it had passed into the hands of Fath Khan Masnad Ali popularly known as Fattu. In September 1561 Akbar appointed Abdul Majid Asaf Khan to take possession

CONQUEST OF THE FORT

OF

CHUNAR.

IN 1561 A.D.

of the fort of Chunar. Fattu agreed to deliver the fort to Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior, who personally gave an assurance of his safety and an honourable employment under Akbar. The latter raised Fattu to the rank of a noble and appointed Hasan Ali Khan Turkoman as commandant of the fort¹ of Chunar.

Next year another event took place. Munim Khan fled away from Agra on account of his complicity in the murder of Akta Khan. He was captured at Sarwat in Saharanpur district, while on his way to Kabul and was brought back to Agra along with Qasim Khan.²

It appears that a group of people of some eight villages of the pargana Sakit of the modern Etah district, started looting and plundering the people. They continued to do so for some time. The matter was reported to the Emperor but because of his preoccupations he could not pay

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II,p.233;Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari,Vol.II,p.480.

2. A.N.(Trans)Vol.II,p181-82;Badaoni(Trans)Vol.II,p.76; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans)Vol.II,p.277-80; Iqtidar Alam,op.cit.p.68.

his attention to the petition of the people. In 1562 while he was on a hunting expedition in the neighbourhood of the pargana of Saket, Happa Brahmin and some other local men arrived from Saket and sought protection and apprised the emperor of the situation. The latter now decided to deal with the rebels. He marched against them. On the approach of the imperial army the rebels broke and fled and took refuge in the village Paranukh fifteen miles south east of Saket and fortified the place. Akbar continued his march with two hundred horsemen and two hundred elephants. At length, to block his passage the rebels set fire to the village. Despite this, Akbar attacked the village, fell upon the fortified house where 4000 ruffians had collected. He broke open the doors and killed a large number of rebels. And in this manner he established peace and order in the parāgana Saket.¹

Some time in 1564 the Afghans of the eastern region made a third bid to recover their lost supremacy.² Starting from the fort of Rohtas in Bihar Fateh Khan Batni accompanied by his brother Hasan Khan and his notable chiefs like Mallu Khan marched westward and seized some of the territory which was a part of Ali Quli Khan Laman's jagir. Thereafter, Fateh

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II., p. 251-55; Dr. Al. Crivastava, 'Akbar the Great', Vol. I, p. 66-67.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 337.

3. ~~A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 336-37; Sadashankar (Trans) Vol. II, p. 76~~

Khan Batni made Awaz Khan son of Salim Khan the king of the Afghans¹.

When Ali Quli Khan Laman learnt about it, he marched against them but as the enemy was far superior in numbers, he entrenched himself in the fort of Andhiyan bari on the banks of Son. The Afghans attacked Ali Quli Khan Laman outside the fort but were completely routed by his troops. Upon this the Afghans broke and fled in panic. Thereafter Ali Quli Khan Laman returned triumphantly to Jaunpur.²

While Akbar was engaged in hunting wild elephants in the forests of Narwar, news arrived that four top ranking Uzbek nobles namely Ali Quli Khan Laman, the governor of Jaunpur, his brother Bahadur Khan, their uncle Ibrahim Khan the governor of Surharpur³ and another relative Iskandar Khan who held Awadh had conspired together and raised the banner of rebellion. These disgruntled Uzbek Officers, who had been responsible, next to Bairam Khan for the restoration of Humayun and installation of Akbar to the throne felt aggrieved as they

REBELLIOUS ACTIVITIES

OF

THE UZBEG IN THE EASTERN

REGION

were posted in the troublesome eastern region where they had to bear the brunt of fighting with the Afghans, who made

1. A.N.(Trans)Vol.II,p.338-9;Badaoni(Trans)Vol.II,p.75.

2. A.N.(Trans)Vol.II,p.339;

3. A.N.(Trans)Vol.II,p.376;Ain(Trans)Vol.II,p.174;Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II,p. 294;Iqtidar Alam,op.cit. p.79; Badaoni(Trans)Vol.II.p76. Frederick Augustus,Akbar Vol.I,p.109.

successive attempts to dislodge the Mughals and recover their lost sovereignty. Whereas others specially the Iranian, who had not as yet rendered any conspicuous service were preferred for higher posts at the court. The Uzbeks also felt that Akbar was prejudiced against them as some-times he would indiscreetly remark that his father's trouble were due to the Uzbek conspiracy and their faithlessness. A very serious cause of the early rebellions, including those of the Uzbeks, against Akbar was the fact that in disregard of the traditional Islamic practice of leaving one fourth or fifth of spoils of war to the army Akbar claimed 4/5 for himself and gave 1/5 to the leaders of the expedition. For these reasons the Uzbek chiefs, who were closely knit together by family ties and who without doubt cherished high ambitions, decided to challenge the sovereign. Their leader Ali Quli Khan Laman was a man of perverse nature, proud and selfish. His brother Bahadur Khan, who had once acted as Prime Minister¹ could never forget that his removal was due to court clique. After due deliberations, they decided that Iskandar Khan and Ibrahim Khan should march by way of Lucknow and fall upon Aunauj, whereas Ali Quli Khan Laman and his brother Bahadur Khan should invade Kara Manikpur, which was then under the

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II,p.376; M.U. (Trans) Vol.II,p.38, 7576; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II,p.295; Iqtidar Alam, op.cit,p. 79.

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imperial governor Majnun Khan Qaqshal. The imperial officers posted in the neighbourhood of Awadh opposed Iskandar Khan and Ibrahim Khan who were defeated in a battle near Nimkhar in the Sitapur district and their leader Muhammad Amin Diwan was taken prisoner. The rebels then compelled Shaham Khan and Shah Budagh to take shelter in the fort of Nimkhar. Ali Quli Khan Laman and Bahadur Khan then proceeded to Kara Manikpur. The Uzbegs who wanted to reduce Kara Manikpur first attacked with such a speed that Majnun Khan Qaqshal failing to face them shut himself in the fort of Nimkhar. Thereafter he secretly sent messengers to Asaf Khan at Kara for help. The latter sent some assistance to the former. The emperor was also informed of the activities of the Uzbeg brothers and their rapid advance. When the preparations were complete the emperor personally proceeded towards the eastern region on 24th May, 1565 at the head of a powerful army/consisting of 2000 elephants. On account of the summer and excessive heat he used to travel by night. After a few day's journey, he

1. A.N.(Trans)Vol.II,p.376; M. U. (Trans)VolII,p.75-76; Nizamuddin Ahmad,Tabqat-i-Akbari,Vol.II,p.295 ;Iqtidar Alam, op.cit.p.79,Frederick Augustus,Vol.I, p.111.

2. A.N.(Trans)Vol.II,p.377;Bayazid Biyat,Tazkira-Humayun wa Akbar (Trans), Jr. Radhey Chyam,p.255; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari,Vol.II,p.296; Iqtidar Alam,op.cit.,p.80.

3. A.N.(Trans)Vol.II,p.377;Badaoni(Trans)Vol.II,p.76; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari,Vol.II,p.277-278;Bayazid Biyat,op.cit.,p.296; Iqtidar Alam,op.cit.,p.80.

4. A.N.(Trans)Vol.II,p.377-78;Bayazid Biyat,op.cit.,p.255-56;Badaoni(Trans)Vol.II,p.76-77;Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari,Vol.II,p.297; Iqtidar Alam,op.cit.,p.80, Frederick Augustus,op.cit.p. 111.

arrived at Kannauj. While the arrangements for crossing the Ganges were still in progress news came that Iskandar Khan had withdrawn rapidly to Lucknow and had entrenched himself there. Before trying to relieve the garrison of the fort of Jimanar, Akbar decided to proceed to Lucknow to deal with Iskandar Khan. He left a part of the army under Ahwaja & Jahan Muzaffar Khan and Munim Khan in the camp and himself covering seventy miles between Kannauj and Lucknow in two nights and one day arrived at Lucknow at the dawn of the third day. Upon Akbar's arrival at Lucknow, Iskandar Khan lost courage and fled without offering any resistance. He joined Ali Guli Khan Laman and Bahadur Khan at Manikpur. The news of the arrival of the royal army disheartened the Uzbek rebels so much that they abandoned the siege of Manikpur and post haste retreated towards Jaunpur in utter confusion. At Lucknow, Akbar heard the retreat of the rebels. He gave up the idea of going to Manikpur and turned towards Jaunpur. On his way he was joined by Majnun Khan Qaqshal who had arrived from Manikpur and Asaf Khan, who had arrived from Kara with 5000 horses to reinforce him. Both Majnun Khan Qaqshal and Asaf Khan paid homage to the king and offered suitable gifts to him. On the third day (13th July, 1565) the emperor reached Jaunpur. In sheer fear of the emperor Ali Guli Khan Laman retreated further

1. A.A.(Trans) Vol.II.p.379; Bayazid Biyat, op.cit.p. 255-56; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.77; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p.297; Frederick Augustus, Vol.I, p.111-112.

east, crossed the Ganges and encamped at Hajipur opposite Patna in Bihar. After the flight of the rebels the ¹ughal army easily took possession of Jaunpur.

Thereafter, Rajman Khan Cacshal, Asaf Khan and Shah Muhammad Khan Landhari were appointed by Akbar to chastise the rebels. Acting more cautiously the emperor deputed Nazir Jamil to help them and made him incharge of the royal insignia. Thus, Nazir Jamil was sent to assist the imperial commanders so that he might be able to chastise the rebels effectively in an organised way.²

While Akbar was still at Jaunpur, some of the imperial officers were ordered to pursue the rebel ~~Uzbeks~~. About this time Muzafar Khan, enquired from Khawaja Abdul Rajid Asaf Khan about the treasures siezed from Garha-Katanga. Apprehensive about the displeasure of the emperor, Asaf Khan ~~raised the banner of rebellion.~~ Along with his brother Nazir Khan he fled from the imperial camp on Sunday on 16th September, 1565. The matter was reported to the

1. A.J. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 380; 381; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 77; Nizamuddin Ahmad, 'Tabqat-i-Akbari' Vol. II, p. 298. Ibid Vol I, p. 112.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 380; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 77; Nizamuddin Ahmad, 'Tabqat-i-Akbari', Vol. II, p. 298, Frederick Augustus, Vol I, p. 112.

emperor who was hunting in the suburbs of Jaunpur. He appointed Munim Khan incharge of the royal forces in place of Asaf Khan and asked Shujaat Khan to pursue the rebel. Shujaat Khan with his troops, arrived at Manikpur in search of Asaf Khan. In the meantime the latter reached Kara and made preparations to proceed to Garha. ¹ The arrival of the royal army under Shujaat Khan and others unnerved Asaf Khan who decided to bar the passage of Shujaat Khan and not to allow him to cross the Ganges. A battle took place on the banks of the river Ganges between the opposite armies. ² During the late hours of the night Asaf Khan got an opportunity and slipped away. In the morning Shujaat Khan crossed the Ganges only to find that Asaf Khan had already left for Garha. Finding the route difficult and his army ³ insufficient for the task, Shujaat Khan returned to Jaunpur.

A little later Ali Guli Khan Laman deputed Bahadur and Iskandar to ravage and plunder of pargana of Barwar ⁴ (in Gorkhpur district) with a view to create strife and divert the attention of the royal army. When the emperor heard about it he appointed Shah Budgah Khan, Said Khan, Qiya Khan, Musain

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.383; Nizamuddin Ahmed, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p. 301-303.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.383-84; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.78; Nizamuddin, Ahmed, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p.302.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.383; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 301; A.L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol. I, p. 102.

4. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.384; But according to Dr. A.L. Srivastava, Khan Laman deputed Bahadur and Iskandar to plunder the pargana of Surharpur near Faizabad. See, 'Akbar the Great', Vol.I, p. 102; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p.303.

khan, Baqi Khan, Matlab Khan, Masim Khan, Farrankhadi and others under the leadership of Mir Muiz-ul-Mulk and directed them, that they should block the path of the rebels and restore order in the region. The emperor himself arrived

Munim Khan
at
Allahabad
to watch the result of the

at Allahabad to watch the result of the expedition against the rebels. Upon Akbar's

stay in the eastern region Ali Guli Khan Zaman lost heart. In spite of his best efforts he could not obtain anything substantial for himself. Failing in his efforts to safeguard his interests, he sent some reputed persons to Munim Khan to intervene and bring about reconciliation. Among them was one Afghan lady named Larv¹ Lad, who was in the service of the Emperor. Perhaps Munim Khan could not understand the deceitful nature of Ali Guli Khan Zaman. He trusted Ali Guli Khan Zaman who promised to remain loyal to the crown and strongly recommended his case to the Emperor, requesting the latter to pardon him.² The emperor ascertained the report of Munim Khan through Khawja Ghayasuddin Ali Qazwini.³ Thereafter he gave permission to Munim Khan to negotiate for a settlement.

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 385.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 385; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 303;

3. A.N. (Trans), Vol. II, p. 385-86; Munim Khan encamped at Jarainpur, which according to Bayazid was opposite Buxar in the pargana of Muhammadabad. See, Tazkira-i-Humayun wa Akbar (Trans) op.cit. p. 258; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II., p. 304-6; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 80-81.

Munim Khan insisted on a personal interview with Ali Quli Khan Laman which the latter tried to avoid and proffered the matter to be settled through the messengers. This proposal was, however, rejected by Munim Khan. The Uzbek chief seems to have failed to repose complete trust even in his well wishers like Munim Khan. Ultimately a meeting was arranged between two or three persons from each side on a boat in the middle of river Ganges. Ali Quli Khan Laman came from Hajipur to Chausa ferry by boat and pitched his camp at Buxar opposite Munim Khan's camp.¹

The atmosphere in the rival camps was sur-charged with apprehensions. Once again promises were renewed. Ali Quli Khan Laman met Munim Khan near Chausa in December, 1565 A.D.² Next day, Ali Quli Khan Laman sat in a boat accompanied by three men, Soahriwar Kul, Sultan Muhammad Mirab and his Qurchi Ahu-i-Haram and proceeded to Khan-Khana's camp. From the royal army, Khan Khana, accompanied by Mirza Ghiyasuddin, Ali Bayzid Beg and Mir Khan proceeded by boat to meet Ali Quli Khan Laman in the middle of the river.³ It was further decided that Mirza and the Majesty for the satisfaction may also send his trusted counsellor Khawja Jahan to Ali Quli Khan

1. Ibid.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 385; Bayzid Biyat, op.cit, p. 256; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 81; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 304-7;

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 385-6; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 306.

Laman to facilitate the task of bringing about a settlement. Next day, Munim Khan crossed the river and went to the camp of Ali Quli Khan Laman where the former was graciously received. Besides, many others Munim Khan was accompanied by Shaham Khan Jalair, the Mir Anshi Haider Muhammad Khan¹ Nanta Begi, Muchak Ali Khan, Taimur Khan. Meanwhile, Khwaja Jahan arrived and Khan Laman wished to visit the camp of Ali Quli Khan Laman for the second time. But Khawaja Jahan remonstrated and plainly said that "Ali Quli Khan was a Jawan without moderation and was displeased with him. He did not think it advisable to go to his quarters. If Munim Khan was bent upon going, he should take pledges for their security. Munim Khan did the same and then accompanied by Khawaja Jahan visited Ali Quli Khan Laman in his quarters. Next day, they had another meeting with Ali Quli Khan Laman in Ibrahim Khan's quarters. In this meeting Wajnun Khan Qaqshal, Baba Khan Qaqshal² and Mirza Beg were also present. Perhaps they accompanied the members of the mission at the insistence of Khwaja Jahan.

It was agreed that Munim Khan should plead the case of Uzbek chief Ali Quli Khan Laman, before the emperor

1. A.N.(Trans)Vol.II,p. 387; Badaoni (Trans)Vol.II,p.80-1
Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabcat-i-Akbari, Vol. II,p.309.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol II, p. 387; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabcat-i-Akbari, Vol. II,p. 309.

and obtain pardon. The terms of peace offered by the Mughals¹ were :

1. Ali Quli Khan Laman should send his mother accompanied by his uncle Ibrahim Khan to the emperor.
2. that Khan Laman should send some selected elephants as present to the emperor.
3. that after being forgiven, he shall send Iskandar Khan and Bahadur Khan to the emperor for personal homage.
4. that Uzbek chief Ali Quli Khan Laman would not cross the Ganges till the emperor was present in this region.

The Uzbeks agreed to these terms and Ali Quli Khan Laman's mother, Ibrahim Khan Mir Handi and Mizam Agha accompanied Khwaja Jahan to the emperor. The Uzbek chief, Ali Quli Khan Laman, also sent two noted elephants named Sal Sundar and Acapali to the emperor as gift. It seems that about this time they also released Haji Khan Siestani, who had been detained by them² and sent him to the imperial camp. The emperor forgave the Uzbek rebels and confirmed them in their respective jagirs on the condition that they will not take

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 387; 388; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 81-83; Mizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 309.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 308; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 84-85; Mizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 310.

possession of their fiefs till title deeds were prepared and signed by the emperor on his return to the imperial capital.

A few days after the submission of Ali Quli Khan Laman, news came of the clash between Mir Muiz-ul-Mulk¹ and other great officers with the rebels. The details of this incident are as follows. When Bahadur Khan and Iskandar Khan had started rebellion in Larkar Jarwar, a large force suddenly arrived from the imperial camp. While the peace talks were still in progress, Raja Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan, who were deputed against Iskandar Khan and who were opposed to any peace parley with the habitual rebels, fell upon Iskandar Khan and Bahadur Khan near Khairabad, four miles from Sitapur. In the battle which ensued, Iskandar Khan was defeated and put to flight. But Bahadur, who had concealed himself with some troops in a bush, reappeared and retrieved the Uzbek position by falling upon the imperialists. The latter suffered a reverse. Todar Mal with some of his men continued to face the enemy but failed to score over them. Thus, the defeat of the rebels was turned into a victory. Upon the failure of the imperial generals, Akbar was greatly annoyed and both Raja Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan lost the imperial favour for

1. A.N.(Trans) Vol II, p.389; Badaoni(Trans) Vol. II, 84-85; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 308.

2. Perhaps in the Sarkar Jaunpur, Ain, Vol. I, p.381; Elliot mentions it in Burharpur in Faizabad district. See, Vol. V, p.303; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p.308. Frederick Augustus, Vol. I, P.112.

the time being.¹

Next day, all the defeated soldiers assembled at one place.² After sending the report about the recent debacle and carrying on the negotiations with the rebels for a truce failing to patch up peace, Raja Todar Mal, Mir Muiz-ul-Mulk and Lashkar Khan proceeded to Mananaj. Akbar forgave them for their acts of omission and commission.

After the conclusion of peace with the rebel Uzbegs, emperor Akbar left Jaunpur in charge of Ashraf Khan and himself marched towards Benaras on 24th January, 1560.³ After three marches he arrived at Benaras. Leaving his camp there, he accompanied by a few selected soldiers, visited the impregnable fort of Chunar. Here he spent some time in hunting elephants.⁴ He captured ten of them and brought to Chunar. From here he returned to Benaras on 2nd February, 1560.

On the day the emperor left Jaunpur for Benaras (24th January 1560) Ali Guli Khan Laman, the leader of the Uzbegs,⁵ crossed the river and came to Muhammadabad. He sent

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II,p.390-1; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p. 308.

2. Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.72; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. V, p.304; A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.392; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p.308, Frederick Augustus, Vol. I, p.114.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.393; Bayazid Biyat, op.cit. p.258-60; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.84-85; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol II, p. 310.

4. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.393; Bayazid, Biyat, op, cit, p.260; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.85; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol, II, p.310.

5. A.N. (Trans) Vol, II, p.394; Bayazid Biyat, op, cit., p.259; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.85-96; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p.310-311. Frederick Augustus, Vol.I, p.114.

his men to occupy Ghazipur and Jaunpur. Thus, once more he broke the compact and raised the standard of rebellion. The emperor had as yet not left the eastern region. There was no cavalry at Jaunpur to defend the Mughal possessions in the eastern region. Naturally the defiant attitude of Ali Quli Khan Laman made the emperor furious. His wrath knew no bounds.

It was at Benaras that he learnt about the rebellion of Ali Quli Khan Laman. He therefore sent Ashraf Khan to Jaunpur with specific instructions to persuade Ali Quli Khan Laman to observe the terms of the treaty. But the latter would not give up his rebellious habit. This change in his behaviour made Munim Khan's position quite embarrassing. It was at his intercession that the emperor had pardoned the Uzbek rebels.

The treacherous conduct of the Uzbek chief, Ali Quli Khan Laman, compelled emperor Akbar to take the field in person and suppress him and his supporters. So long he had believed in the pious words and assurances given to him by Munim Khan. Now, he was totally convinced of the necessity of stern action against the rebels. Consequently, he ordered Khwaja Jahan, Muzaffar Khan, Raja Bhagwant Dass and a number of his followers to remain with the camp and to follow him slowly, stage by stage. While he himself marched on 2nd February, 1566 to chastise Ali Quli Khan Laman. At length, he sent Jafar Khan Taklu and Qasim Khan towards Ghazipur to drive away the rebels. Upon the approach of the imperial army, the

rebels broke and fled from Ghazipur to Muhammadabad, where they informed Ali Guli Khan about the march of the imperial army against him. He at once abandoned Muhammadabad and fled in great consternation. He arrived on the bank of Sarju, took a boat, crossed the river leaving his baggage behind.

The imperialists seized the baggage and hotly pursued him. Thereafter, Akbar sent Rajnir Khan Qasbi, M. Rajat Khan and others for the same purpose. Shortly after Awaz Khan son of Islam Khan and Farrukh Husain Khan left Ali Guli Khan and joined the imperial forces. The imperialists then arrived at Barwar and hastened to chase the rebel. When they reached the bank of Sarju, they found that the rebel had already taken to flight. The imperial forces then combed the entire region in search of the rebel Ali Guli Khan Zaman. But the latter managed to slip away to Chilupara in Gorakhpur district. By this time the emperor had arrived on the banks of Ghaghra and had encamped opposite Chilupara. Akbar attacked the rebel and forced him to leave Chilupara. Next day, the imperial army marched from there towards Maunath Bhanjan in Azamgarh district, 14 miles from Muhammadabad. By this time¹ the rebel had crossed the Ghaghra to take shelter in Bihar.

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 394-97; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, 25-26; Bayazid Biyat, op.cit. p. 259-61; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 311-12.

Meanwhile, news came that Iskandar Khan and Bahadur Khan after defeating Raja Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan and compelling them to withdraw to Kannauj, marched towards Jaunpur to rescue their mother, who was in the custody of Ashraf Khan, the governor of Jaunpur. They attacked Jaunpur, broke open the gates by burning them and seized and imperisoned Ashraf Khan. Thereafter, they plundered the city and hastened towards Benaras, and arriving there looted and plundered it. From here they finally proceeded to Zamaniya, ~~whci~~ which they also plundered. In Zamania they learnt that the emperor was returning to Jaunpur after driving away Ali Guli Khan Zaman to Bihar. Therefore, they crossed the Ganges at Narhan ferry and entered Bihar to join their chief Ali Guli Khan Zaman.¹

During his return march and on his way to Jaunpur, the emperor halted in the town of Nizamabad, where he celebrated his birth day amidst jubilation and pomp. Thereafter he resumed his journey and arrived at Jaunpur. Here he ordered his army to pursue the rebels in Bihar and capture Ali Guli Khan Zaman.²

By this time the resources of the Jzbeq leader

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II.,p.394-97; Badaoni (Trans)Vol.II, p.85-86; Bayazid Biyat, op.cit, p.259-61; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p.300-312. Frederick Augustus, Vol.I, p.115.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.398; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p. 312.

Ali Quli Khan Laman, who was given no respite seems to have exhausted. He sent Mirza^{Mirak} Razavi to request Munim Khan Khan Khana to approach the emperor to seek the pardon once more. Munim Khan who had now no courage to plead their case before the emperor, asked Mir Murtaza Sharifi, Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri, Sheikh Abdu Nabi and Mir Abdul Latif Razwini¹ to request to emperor to pardon Ali Quli Khan Laman. Left with no alternative, the emperor, granted amnesty² to the rebels for the third time. On Sunday 3rd March, 1566 A.D. the emperor started from Jaunpur for Agra via Banikpur.³ While on his return journey, the emperor celebrated the Nauroz festival at Kara on Sunday 10th March, 1566 A.D. Akbar stayed here^{for} three days. Since he was not at all satisfied with the conduct of the Uzbek chief he left behind Munim Khan and Muzaffar Khan at Jaunpur to keep an eye over the Uzbeks and bring about the submission of Ali Quli Khan Laman. They were also asked to return to the capital after the work entrusted to them was completed, while Akbar was still at Kara both the officers came and joined the imperial army.³

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 398; Bayzid Bayat, op. cit. p. 262; Nizamuddin Ahmad, "Tabqat-i-Akbari" (Trans) Vol. II, p. 313-314.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 399; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 56, Nizamuddin Ahmad, "Tabqat-i-Akbari" (Trans) Vol. II, p. 313-14.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 401; Nizamuddin Ahmad, "Tabqat-i-Akbari" (Trans), Vol. II, p. 314-317.

The total duration of emperor Akbar's stay in the eastern region was about 7 months and 28 days.¹ During this period he and his generals constantly moved from Agra towards the eastern region to suppress the rebellious tendencies in that quarter. He had resolved to establish imperial control over this area. The intervention of a strong group of nobles and the exertion of undue influence on him to forgive the insurgent Ali Quli Khan Laman forced him to abandon his resolve. The way in which the affairs of eastern region were dealt with gives an inkling of the tussle between the emperor and the nobility in the earlier part of his reign. At this stage the emperor was not in a position to set aside the opinion of a strong section of the Turani nobility and decide the matters himself. Munim Khan, the Khan-i-Khanan and Muzaffar Khan and other generals were left behind at Jaunpur to keep a close watch over the political affairs of the eastern region. Thereafter, the emperor returned to Agra via Balpi. He arrived at Agra on 25th March, 1566 A.D. After a few days stay at the imperial capital, he went to Nagarachain. Here he received in audience, Muzaffar Khan whom he had left behind in Jaunpur. From him he learnt

1. A.I. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 401 Fayzid Bayat (Trans), op.cit, p. 202-33, 204, Sadaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 86-87, Izamuddin Ahmad, 'Tabqat-i-Akbari' (Trans) Vol. II, p. 316-317.

about Humayun Khan's duplicity and this must have certainly caused great anxiety in his mind. However, for the moment since he was busy with other affairs, he shelved the problem of the eastern region of his empire.

No sooner did, the sons of the late Sultan Mirza and 'Ulugh Mirza who held assignments in the districts of Sambhal learn of the invasion of Mirza Hakim on the Punjab and Emperor's preoccupation with it, than they broke into rebellion. Muhammad Sultan Mirza was a grandson of Sultan

the late Sultan Mirza

Musain Mirza Saidara and therefore a distant relative of Akbar.

the late Sultan Mirza

His sons, who took part in this

rebellion were Ibrahim Rustin, Muhammad Musain, 'Asad Musain, and Agli Khan. Taking advantage of Akbar's absence 'Ulugh Mirza and Chan Mirza joined Ibrahim Musain Mirza and Muhammad Musain Mirza and plundered Sambhal and its neighbourhood. The imperial officers of the forosaid district opposed and defeated them. They fled to Jaunpur to join Ali Quli Khan Laman and Iskander¹. But they could not fall in line with the 'zbegs and returned to invade Binkhar in its district. The Jagiradar of pargana named Yarshahi was defeated and the victorious Mirzas proceeded to the neighbourhood of Delhi

1. vizamuddin Ahmad, 'Tabqat-i-Akbari'; (Trans) Vol.II, p. 320-327.

to plunder and devastate the country. But Fatar Khan, the Governor of Delhi, was ready with a force to fight the Mirzas. Upon this they decided to go to Malwa. They defeated Mir Ali-ul-Hik near Rampat and took possession of Malwa. When Akbar learnt about their activities, he ordered that Iqbal Khan Sultan Mirza, the father of the rebels, should be removed from Rampat in the Malwa district and imprisoned in the Fort of Bayana.¹ Thereafter, the rebels laid down their arms.

Hardly the region of Uttar Pradesh was free from the seditious activities of the Mirzas, than the rebel 'Azegs in collaboration with Asaf Khan began to create trouble there. It may be recalled that Asaf Khan had fled from the Imperial camp and taken refuge in the country of Gondwana. It was deemed necessary to pursue the rebel. Consequently Akbar appointed Iqbal Khan Masim Khan to march towards Garha Katanga to dislodge the rebel from there. It was a suitable moment for Ali Guli Khan Dahan to win over Asaf Khan. The former wrote to join him for his own safety.² Perhaps there was no other way out for Asaf Khan, who along with the brother Nazir Khan, joined Ali Guli Khan Dahan at Faunpur,³ leaving Garha in the hands of Mahdi Masim Khan completely.

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1. A.N.(Trans) Vol.II,p.415;Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, 86-87.
 2. A.N.(Trans) Vol. II,p.404-05;Badaoni(Trans) Vol.I ,p.86-87.
 3. A.N.(Trans) Vol.II,p.418;Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II,p.86-87.

Though Asaf Khan joined the camp of Ali Quli Khan Laman yet the former could not fully reconcile with the latter. Asaf Khan along with his brother Wazir Khan constantly waited for an opportunity to desert the rebels. Ali Quli Khan Laman somehow got an air of Asaf Khan's intentions. He separated himself from the two brothers and sent Asaf Khan with Bahadur Khan but kept Wazir Khan under surveillance. Asaf Khan left the camp of Bahadur Khan and fled the same night. Wazir Khan also left Jaunpur and hastened to meet his brother. As regards Asaf Khan, he rushed towards Chunar and was hotly pursued by Bahadur Khan. Near Chunar a decisive battle took place between the opposite groups, in which Asaf Khan's forces were defeated and himself was made prisoner.¹ Bahadur Khan put him into an elephant's litter and went off. Shortly after Wazir Khan arrived with his son and fell upon Bahadur Khan. The latter could not resist the deadly charge of Wazir Khan's army. He tried to escape but before he could do so, he ordered his men to kill Asaf Khan. But Asaf Khan was saved by Wazir Khan and his men, who secured his release and put Bahadur Khan and his men to flight. Thereafter Wazir Khan and Asaf Khan came² to Kara to offer submission.

1. A.N.(Trans) Vol.II, p. 418, Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.87. Badaoni says that battle took place some where between Jaunpur and Manikpur whereas Abdul Fazl mentions it near somewhere Chunar, Nizamuddin Ahmad, 'Tabqat-i-Akbari' (Trans) Vol.II, p.332.

2. A.N.(Trans) Vol.II, p.419, Bayazid Bayat, op.cit. p.263; Nizamuddin Ahmad, 'Tabqat-i-Akbari' (Trans) Vol.II, p.332.

In March 1567 A.D. Asaf Khan was poisoned. He sent a petition to the emperor through his brother Asir Khan and his case was pleaded by Muzaffar Khan. Thereafter Asaf Khan was reinstated at Agra, with the instruction to proceed to Banipur with Najm Khan Jughal, to suppress the rebellion of Ali Guli Khan-Khan in the eastern region. Meanwhile, the Uzbeks had gathered at Ahrarpur and resolved that Ali Guli Khan Khan should march to Lucknow to seize the entire country upto the bank of the Ganges that Bahadur should invade Kara and Banipur and that Ismaeel Khan and Ibrahim Khan should occupy Awadh and its neighbourhood. To execute this scheme, Ali Guli Khan Khan marched towards Banauj and compelled Mirza Yusuf Khan the local faujdar to take refuge in the fort of Sher garh eight miles from Banauj.¹

Leaving Agra in charge of Munim Khan Akbar started against Khan Khanan on 6th May, 1567 and sent ahead Miya Khan Gung, Muzaffar Mughal and some officers to the relief of Mirza Yusuf Khan, who was besieged in the fort of Shergarh by the rebels. Meanwhile the Uzbeks were joined by a number of

1. A. H. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 425, Bayazid Siyat, op.cit. p. 264; Badesoni (Trans) Vol.II,p. 88-89, 96, Miramuddin Ahmad (Trans) Vol. II, p. 332; Frederick Augustus, Vol. I, op. cit,p. 116;

other disgruntled and rebellious officers. The situation was so critical that Akbar had to imprison Mirza Mirak Razavi, the Amil of Khan Laman and put him in charge of Jan Baqi Khan. Not only this the emperor also ordered that Khan Laman's cousins, Abul Asir son of Farran, who was a prisoner in the fort of Gwalior should also be put to death, when the emperor arrived at Laxit in the Math district, Ali Gul Khan Laman who was besieging the fort of Bhergarh, raised the siege and fled in great confusion to join his brother Bahadur Khan. He came to Janikpur, where Bahadur Khan was confronting Asaf Khan and Majnun Khan Nagasal. The imperial army advanced farther from Laxit to the bank of the Ganges and next day crossed it. When it reached Mohan in the Jhnao district, the emperor sent a detachment on 2nd June 1567 against the Uzbek rebels of Awadh. Thereafter, the emperor himself proceeded towards Kara and Janikpur. When he reached Rae Bareilly, he received the news that the Uzbeks intended to attack Kalpi and were planning to cross the Ganges.

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1. A.N.(Trans) Vol.II,p.426; Bayazid Biyat, op.cit..p.264; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p.332.
 2. A.N.(Trans) Vol.II, p.427; Badaoni(Trans) Vol.II, p.88-89, 90;
 3. A.L. Srivastava, 'Akbar the Great', Vol.I.p.100.
 4. Badaoni, (Trans) Vol.II, p.97; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p.332; A.L. Srivastava, 'Akbar the Great'; Vol. I, p.109, Frederick, Vol I, p.116.
 5. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p. 427, Frederick Augustus, op.cit, Vol. I., P. 117.

On receiving this report Akbar marched post haste¹ from Rae Bareilly on 7th June, 1567 against the rebels commanding the main army to follow him.² Next day he reached Manikpur, where Ghibb Ali, the Jagirdar of the area arrived to pay him homage.³ Asaf Khan also arrived to pay homage. He was asked to proceed to his camp, which was opposite to that of Ali Guli Khan Saman. The emperor was later informed that Ali Guli Khan Saman had constructed a bridge over the Ganges in the pargana ⁴ Singraur and crossed it.

The emperor immediately proceeded towards the rebel camp with 13,000 solidiers. He left Raja Bhagwan Das and Akbar's Jahan to look after Kara so that it may not be occupied by the Uzbeks. The emperor himself proceeded through village Shaikhana a dependency of Manikpur and on Sunday 8th June 1567 A.D. crossed the Ganges. When the emperor crossed the Ganges he was accompanied by Mirza Koka, Saif Khan Koka, Dastam Khan Shujaat Khan and others.⁵ The rebels were about two miles away from the imperial camp.⁶ Some of the officers advised the emperor for a night attack. But Asaf Khan who along with Majnun Khan had joined the Emperor with his troops in the

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1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p.427; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p.96; Bayazid Biyat, op.cit. p.264; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 333; A.L. Srivastava, 'Akbar the Great', Vol. I, p.109;
 2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p.427.
 3. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p.427, Frederick Augustus, op.cit, Vol I, p.118-119.
 4. Singraur is the old ^{name} of Nawabganj. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p.428; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. M, p.106; Ain, Vol. II, p.174; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p.97.
 5. A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p.428; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p.98-99; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p.334;
 6. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p.429; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p.98-99; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p.334.

evening insisted that the attack should be made the next morning. His Majesty approved his suggestion.¹

Early next morning (9th June 1557) the emperor arranged the army in battle formation. He himself remained in the centre. When the drums were beaten and a decisive battle between imperialists and 'zbegs began² confusion prevailed in 'zbeg army after the arrest of Bahadur Khan and which resulted in the death of Ali Guli Khan Lachan who was crushed ³incidentally by an elephant named Jain Mukh. While the battle was still in full swing Jazir Bahadur presented the rebel Bahadur Khan before the emperor who said, "Our Bahadur what evil had been done to you that you have been the cause of all this strife and sedition."⁴ But Bahadur did not reply. This was considered to be a sign of his defiant attitude.⁵ Shortly after Khanqaz Khan and Mansi Jass Lamba ~~severed~~ severed his head from his body. A little later Bahriyal Kul one of the confidants of Ali Guli Khan was also put to death. The

1. A.N.(Trans) Vol.II, p.429; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II, p. 335.

2. A.N.(Trans) Vol.II, p.430-31; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.101; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II, p.336.

3. A.V. (Trans) Vol.II, p.432-33; Bayazid Biyat (Trans) Nauhey Hyam) p.205; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II, p. 335-36.

4. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.434; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.100; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p.335, Frederick Augustus, op.cit.p. 119.

5. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.434; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.100; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p. 335, Frederick Augustus, Vol I, op.cit, p. 120.

place where the battle took place was in the village Maakarwal in the subah of Allahabad. This village was turned into a city and was given the name ¹Maatehpur. Maatehpur Mubarak was the date of the imperial victory over the rebels.

With the collapse of the Jzbeq rebellion came to a close a long struggle between the emperor and his turbulent nobility. It began in 1560 when Bairam Khan was dismissed and it lasted for full seven years. After obtaining the great victory over the Jzbegs, emperor proceeded to Prayag and stayed there for two days. Later on he proceeded to Benaras. ³Here many soldiers and supporters of Ali Quli Khan including Murtaza Quli paid homage and were pardoned. The inhabitants of Benaras who had been constainly subjected to immense loss of men, and money during the course of the struggle between ~~the~~ emperor and the nobility were again plundered by the imperial army. ⁴

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 434; Badaoni mentions the place Maakarwal. It is about 10 miles south west of Allahabad but this place does not tally with the description. According to Dr. A.P. Tripathi the battle was fought at Maatehpur Paraseki seven miles of Kara. This place appears to be correct because Maakarwal a dependency of Jhusi was situated in different direction. Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 100; Dr. A.P. Tripathi, 'Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire', Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol II, p. 336. Frederick Augustus, Vol I, of op.cit. p. 121.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 434; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol II, p. 336, Frederick Augustus, Vol. I. op.cit. p. 121-123.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 435; Bayazid Biyat, op.cit. p. 265; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, (Trans) Vol. II, p. 337; Frederick Augustus, Vol. I. p. 121;

4. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 435; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 103; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 337;

From Benaras the emperor sent Shihab Khan with an army to occupy and administer the territories of Jaunpur and Gulij Khan to that of Sirharpur where some of the leading Uzbek families were still living.¹ After staying for three days at Benaras the emperor left for Jaunpur² and it seems that now onwards ~~was~~ *qudity* peace prevailed in the whole of the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh. After having established normal condition in the territory which had been in the possession of Ali Guli Khan Baman and Bahadur and which included Jaunpur, Benaras and Ghaziपुर, to Chausa in the eastern region and achieving his mission of reestablishing the Mughal authority over this region, Akbar left Jaunpur via Kara on his way back to Agra.³ He crossed the Ganges at Kara ferry by boat and reached the fort of Kara. At Kara Akbar issued orders and summoned Munim Khan from Agra and permitted various Jagirdars to return to their respective Jagirs.

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p. 435; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p. 103; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabcat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II, p.337; Bayazid Bayat, op.cit.p. 266.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p. 435; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p. 103; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabcat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 337; Frederick Augustus, Vol. I, p. 121.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol II, p. 435; Bayazid Bayat, op.cit. p. 267; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabcat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 337; Frederick Augustus, Vol.I, p. 121;

relieved from the Izbeg rebellion Akbar took up the case of his seditious nobles who^{had} fled from imperial camp and had joined the rebels, such as Khan Ali Izbeg, Yar Ali, Alam Khan Sadakhshi, Mir Khan Bakashi, Yahiya Badakhshi, besides many others. They were crushed under the feet of elephants at the royal orders.¹ A large number of mischief mongers were executed. At the sametime Jai Tawaci brought Khan Nasir Khwaja, the ring leader of the rebels, who was done to death.² Thus, Akbar took drastic measures against the disloyal officers and treated them severely. In pursuance of emperor's summons Munim Khan arrived at Kara. Akbar conferred upon him all the jagirs of Ali Quli Khan Laman and Bahadur Khan. From Kara Munim Khan proceeded to resume his duties at Jaunpur. The political confusion that prevailed in the region under review was hardly over than the entire region began to suffer from ill effects of the rebellious activities of the Izbegs and from the imperial campaign. Despite this, conditions remained normal for the time being.³

Akbar left Kara on Saturday 28th June, 1567 A.D. for Agra.⁴ He reached Agra on 18th July, 1567.

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 436-6; Bayazid Bayat, op.cit. p. 267-8; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 337-38.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 436; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 103; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 337.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 436-37; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 103; 4; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 338.

4. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 437; After a brief stay at Etawah, where he honoured Shujaat Khan, Akbar reached Agra on Friday 18th July, 1567. See. Bayazid Bayat, op.cit, p. 268; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 104; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 339.

Meanwhile the imperial troops sent against Iskander Khan Izbeg reached Awadh(modern Faizabad) on June 16, and besieged him in the fort. Iskander had posted his ~~max~~ musketeers on the top of hillock nearby so as to prevent the ~~h~~ besiegers from approaching the foot of the fort and making an assault. Muhammad Ali Ghalib¹ made arrangements for capturing the fort. Peace parleys continued side by side with the siege but Iskandar Khan who was disheartened by the news of the defeat and death of Khan Jahan and Bahadur made his escape one night by back door, leaving the fort in possession of the imperialists. He fled to Gorakhpur and from thence to Bihar and took shelter with the Afghans. Thereafter, Akbar forbade further pursuit. The province of Awadh, of which Iskandar was the governor was made over to Muhammad Ali Ghalib¹ Barlas. Iskandar could not pull on with Sulaiman Karrani of Bengal and submitted to Akbar in March 1572 A.D. He was given the Jagir of Lucknow but he died shortly after.

The rebellion of Izbegs in the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh and the activities of some important Izbeg nobles during the last two years constituted a serious menace to Akbar and his empire. As long as the trouble brewed in

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.437-440 Bayazid Bayat (Trans) op.cit. p. 268, Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p. 104; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, (Trans) Vol.II, p. 338-39.

the eastern Uttar Pradesh, Akbar could not breath a sigh of relief. Realising the importance of this region, he was compelled to turn his attention towards it and suspend for a little while the schemes of fresh conquests so as to extend the limit of his dominions far and wide. Akbar left eastern J.P. in the hands of Munim Khan who reviewed the condition of the extensive area under his control. Very soon he learnt that Abdullah Khan who had been given Samaniya by Ali Guli Khan Saman was unwilling to surrender it to Mughal authorities. The arrival of Munim Khan and the determination of imperial government to strengthen its position in the eastern region alarmed Abdullah Khan. He sent a messenger to Sulaiman Karrani the ruler of Bengal, expressing his wish to surrender Samaniya, in case he was given a suitable post. Sulaiman, immediately deputed Lodi Khan who was his wazir to take possession in Samaniya.¹

In the meantime Munim Khan some how learnt about the secret talks going on between Abdullah and Sulaiman Karrani. He persuaded and forced Abdullah to surrender Samaniya to the Mughals². By the time the forces of Sulaiman under his wazir Lodi Khan could reach Samaniya, the game was

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.II,p.478; Bayat, op.cit.p.268; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II,p.104; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol II, p. 338.

2. A.N.(Trans) Vol.II. p.478; Bayazid Bayat, op.cit.p.260; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol II, p.338; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.105.

practically over. Finding it difficult to reconquer Samaniya, Lodi Khan proposed a meeting between Sulaiman Karrani and Humayun Khan. In the meeting, it was decided that Sulaiman would strike coins and read khutba in the name of the Mughal emperor and in return Akbar will not invade his territories in future. Thus, the acquisition of Samaniya by the Mughals solved the conflict over the boundaries between imperialists and the ruler of Bengal¹. Thereafter, Humayun Khan appointed Qasim Hashki to look after the affairs of Samaniya². Thus a crucial period of the history of eastern region of Uttar Pradesh came to an end with the conquest and consolidation of the imperial authority in Jaunpur, Ghazipur. Samaniya, Benaras, Chunar, Kara and Banikpur which were now under the effective control of the imperialists.

The only important fort i.e. of Kalinjar left outside the pale of the Mughals dominion was in the south-east. It was held by Bughela chief Raja Ramchandra, the ruler of Bandhogarh³. To further strengthen his hold and complete the process of extending his sway over the rest parts of the region under review, Akbar ordered Majnun Khan 'adshah, the

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 478; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 165; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 338-40;

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 479; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 165; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 338-40.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 498-499; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 166, 124; Nizamuddin Ahmad, "Tabqat-i-Akbari", (Trans) Vol. II. p. 357.

governor of Manikpur to conquer the territories of Kalinjar and asked Khanam Khan Jalair to assist him.¹ Moreover, the local amindars of Kalinjar were restive and were not prepared to tolerate the domination of the Baghelas. It was quite evident to Raja Ram Chandra that he will not be able to keep the fort under his control for long. He knew that, he had not been able to consolidate his position in Kalinjar and in face of the opposition of the local amindars and thus it would be difficult for him to face the Mughal invasion. Finding no other alternative he handed over the keys of the fort to Rajnand Khan Baghal without offering any resistance in July 1569 A.D. As a token of obeisance the Baghela chief sent his son Vir Bhadra to attend the court, expressing his inability to present himself personally and saying that it was far away from his capital. It seems that Raja Ram Chandra was not certain about the attitude of the Mughals towards him.

The news of victory of the Mughals in taking possession of the fort of Kalinjar was communicated to the emperor on Saturday 13th August, 1569 at Agra.³ Akbar ordered

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 499-500; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 124; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabcat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 357.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 499, Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 129; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabcat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 357.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 498, Bayazid Bayat, op.cit. p. 270-71; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabcat-i-Akbari (Trans), Vol. II, p. 359.

Majnun Khan Qasbal to take over the charge of the fort in addition to his own duties of the governorship of Manikpur.¹ It was perhaps for the first time that the fort of Malinjar came under the direct control of the Ughals. According to Sadauni Malinjar was assigned to Sirbal in Jagir.²

In 1571-72, Alairan Karrani, the ruler of Bengal and Bihar died. He was succeeded by his eldest son Bayazid who was killed by the Afghans who were supporting the cause of Daud, the younger brother of Bayazid. Lodi Khan who was one of the trusted nobles of late Sultan upheld the cause of Daud and raised him to the throne. Daud abandoned the policy of paying homage to the Ughal emperor. He read the Khutba and struck coins in his own name and assumed sovereignty.³ It was too much for Akbar to tolerate. He ordered Munim Khan, the governor of Jaunpur to proceed from Ghunar to attack and conquer Bihar, Bengal and Arrisa. Majnun Khan Qasbal, the governor of Manikpur, along with his forces also accompanied him and they succeeded in crushing the Karranis.⁴

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 499, Sadauni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 124, Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, (Trans), Vol. II, p. 359.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 499-500; Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 405, Sadauni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 345.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 28, Bayazid Bayat, op.cit. p. 217. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 429.

4. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 29, Bayazid Bayat, op.cit. p. 271; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 430.

The eastern region could not remain immune from the effect of the Karrani uprising or the political developments taking place in Bihar and Bengal, while the imperial forces were busy in crushing the Karranis in Bihar, Jaud marched towards Jaunpur and sent Lodi Khan with large force to conquer the fort of Zamaniya. Lodi Khan succeeded in conquering Zamaniya. Muhammad Asim Muhardar, who held Zamaniya for the Mughals, failed to face the forces of the rebel Afghans under Lodi Khan and surrendered the fort to him.¹

Meanwhile, Munim Khan, the Mughal Governor of Jaunpur decided to take advantage of the political confusion in the eastern provinces caused by Sulaiman's death. He sent two armies to capture Hajipur and the other to conquer Patna. Upon this Gujar Karrani, not been able to face the Mughals made peace with Munim Khan, agreeing to cooperate with the imperialists in conquering Bengal and to enter Akbar's service on the condition that Gorakhpur should be given to him in assignment. But the agreement fell through as Lodi had meanwhile succeeded in establishing his authority on Gujar and Munim Khan had to return to Jaunpur without realising his objective. A little later, news came that Gorakhpur had fallen into the hands of Yusuf Muhammad Uzbek o/c Sulaiman

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.III,p. 30, Bayazid Bayat,op.cit. p. 271, Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II,p. 138-39, Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II. P. 430.

Uzbeq who had escaped from Agra, and fled to Gorakhpur. But Munim Khan soon recovered Gorakhpur and defeated Lodi Khan's troops who had captured Zamaniya, crossed the Ganges and were making preparations to invade Ghazipur. He dictated a perfunctory peace to the Afghans and returned to Jaunpur. A little later the news of Akbar's success in Gujrat compelled Lodi to withdraw to Bihar. In view of a conflict between Lodi and Daud and the king of Bengal, there was for the time being no apprehension of a danger from their side. Munim Khan never wanted to give any opportunity to the Afghans to spread in the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh and make Zamaniya as their base. He sent messenger to all the officers of the region to fight the Afghans insurgents. He ordered Muhammad 'uli Barlas, Hajnun Khan, 'iya Khan and Raja Gajpati to form the vanguard of his army and to engage the Afghans. In a conflict with the forces of Munim Khan and large number of Afghans were slain and the rebels were defeated. After this victory, the Mughals led by Munim Khan, marched against Lodi Khan. In the meanwhile Lodi Khan gathered a large following conquered and occupied Zamaniya and he took a defensive position near Zamaniya on the Ganges¹. He sent Yusuf Muhammad

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.III, p. 30, Bayazid Bayat, op, cit, p. 210-71-72; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 155; Nizamuddin Ahmad, "Tabqat-i-Akbari" (Trans) Vol. II, p. 436.

who had fled from Gorakhpur and joined the Afghans, across the Ganges with 3 or 60 000 men.

Both the armies faced each other and had a few skirmishes. The highly trained and equipped army of the Afghans were much superior in its performance to that of imperialists. The Afghans found themselves outnumbered. There was no hope of receiving any reinforcement from Agra, due to the fact that emperor was busy in besieging the fort of Surat. Upon this Munim Khan decided to avert a direct conflict. He found that a straight fight might result in the defeat and discomfiture of the imperial forces.

After the conquest of Surat and his return to the capital, Akbar turned the attention towards the eastern J.P.¹ He marched towards the eastern region and reached Prayag on Wednesday 14th July, 1574 A.D. Near Allahabad Qasim Ali Khan came from Munim Khan and apprised the emperor of the latest position and of the victory of the Mughals over the Afghans in Bihar. Akbar resumed his journey and reached Benares on 15th July 1574. Immediately after his arrival at Benares, Akbar sent Sher Beg Tawachi-bashi to Munim Khan informing him that he would be joining him soon.³

1. A.N.(Trans) Vol.III, p.124; Bayazid Sayat, op.cit. p.270-71; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p. 155 ; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II., p.438.

2. A.N.(Trans) Vol.III, p. 123-4; Bayazid Sayat, op.cit, p.270-72; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p. 177-79; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II, p. 439-51;

3. A.N.(Trans) Vol.III, p. 124; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p. 179; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 439-51;

The emperor proceeded from Benaras and on his way he halted at village Godi, a dependency of Mayyidpur (in Chazipur) where the river Godi joins the Ganges. At Godi on Monday 19th July, 1574, Mirza Yusuf Khan along with many other officers of his area came and offered their personal homage.¹ Here Akbar was also joined by the army which had been ordered to follow him by land route. Akbar decided to visit Jaunpur. He ordered his boats to be driven up the stream. On 20th July, 1574 he reached the village Bahiraj a dependency of pargana Karakat.² Further on his way, while Akbar was at village Yahyapur a dependency of Jaunpur reports about the misconduct of Afghans in Bihar were communicated to him. The emperor sent the ladies of the harem and the princes to Jaunpur and himself hastened towards Patna. On Sunday 25th July, 1574 A.D. Akbar reached Chazipur. The news of the movements of the army unnerved the rebel Afghans completely. On Thursday 27th July 1574 A.D., the emperor reached Chausa and applied himself against the Afghans.³ We are not concerned here with his activities in Bihar. However, being relieved of the problem of the

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol.III,p.125;Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II,p. 179;Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II,p. 439-51.

2. A.N. (Trans)Vol.III,p. 126; Bayazid Bayat, op.cit.p. 214;Badaoni (Trans)Vol.II,p. 184; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II,p. 439.

3. A.N. (Trans)Vol. III,p.127, Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II. p. ~~ix~~ 439-40,451.

rebel Afghans of Bihar and Bengal, Akbar returned to the region under review. He arrived at Jaunpur on 17th August, 1574. The sameday Munim Khan was despatched from Jaunpur to Bengal and he was granted a Jagir in Bihar instead of Jaunpur.¹ The presence of the emperor at Jaunpur strengthened the imperial position in the eastern Uttar Pradesh and brought about the suppression of the fissiparous tendencies in it for the time being.

In order to give unitary character to his extensive possessions and to maintain effective control over them, Akbar reorganised the territorial boundaries of his empire in 1580 and divided it into 12 subahs.² The subahs of Agra-Allahabad and Awadh almost covered the region which is now known as Uttar Pradesh. In the western region there was some area which was not covered by the forementioned subahs. In the vast and extensive region a uniform system of administration, rules and regulation administrative procedure was introduced. Thus, from 1580 a new chapter began in the history of the region under review.

In 1580 Akbar assigned the Sarkar of Ghazipur,

1. A.N.(Trans) Vol. III, p.144-5; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p.184; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 439-40, 451.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 413, Bayazid Bayat, op.cit. p. 275; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 193; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) vol. II, P. 527.

situated on the border of the Subah of Allahabad and Bihar to Masum Khan Farankhudi. Tarson Muhammad Khan was appointed as the Faujdar of Jaunpur and Maulana Muhammad Yazdi was appointed Qazi of Jaunpur.¹ A large number administrative experiments were made about this time. In the beginning there was great resentment against against them. About the same time a series of rebellions broke out in Bihar and Bengal which greatly affected the political life of the people of Uttar Pradesh. Early in 1580 A.D. Akbar took steps to overhaul the revenue system and introduced certain reforms. The work of implementing these new revenue and financial reforms was entrusted to Inder Lal and Shah Mansur. And no sooner these reforms and financial regulations were introduced than the reaction against them began in Bihar and Bengal. The rebellions of Bengal stirred the people of Bihar and thus Bihar also came under its grips. The Fatwa of Maulana Muhammad Yazdi the Qadr of Jaunpur added fuel to the fire. He insisted on the duty of taking the field and rebel against the emperor, because the emperor had made, "enchroachment on the granted land belonging to us and of God". This moral and ethical justification on part of the Qadr of Jaunpur encouraged the discontented elements of this region to rebel openly against the imperial authority.

1. A.D. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 410.

2. A.D. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 410; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 284, 297; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 527.

The presence of Maulana Muhammad Yazdi at Jaunpur and his attitude against the emperor caused considerable commotion in the region round Jaunpur. Mir Muiz-ul-Mulk also raised the standard of revolt at Jaunpur, collected a large following, and acted in a defiant manner. Akbar could very well foresee the consequence of the presence of Yazdi in the eastern Uttar Pradesh. He ordered Asad Khan Turkoman the Jagirdar of Banikpur to proceed to Jaunpur. He arrested Maulana Muhammad Yazdi and Mir Muiz-ul-Mulk and sent them¹ to court. Shortly after Mir Abdullah Ali Akbar, the brother of Mir Muiz-ul-Mulk started his nefarious activities at Samaniya and promoted sedition. He was also arrested and sent to the² court.

It is related by Badaoni that Masum Khan Farankhudi who was in a "discontented state of mind" went to Jaunpur and broke into rebellion. The emperor sent Peshru Khan known as Minister Badaat with a farman to appease him. On the failure on the mission of Peshru Khan, the government of Jaunpur was taken away from Masum Khan Farankhudi and conferred upon Parsun Khan and the government of Awadh was given to

1. A.I. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 455; M.U. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 239-40; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 534-5; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 284.

2. A.I. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 455; M.U. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 239-40; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 541;

the former. Considering Awadh in the corner of the empire,¹ Masum Khan Farankhudi began to prepare for war. As regards Peshru Khan he returned to the court to report that matter visa-vis about the conduct of the amirs of the eastern region to the emperor.² A little later Masum Khan attacked Jaunpur and took possession of it from the hands of the servants of Iarsun Khan. Upon this an order was issued that he should withdraw from Jaunpur to Awadh and regard Awadh as his ja'ir and look after it. But the latter disobeyed. At length³, Akbar sent Khan Guli Khan Farham and Raja Birbal to deal with him. They arrived near Jaunpur and sent a conciliatory letter to him. But even this could not bring him to submission. Consequently, both Khan Guli Farham and Raja Birbal withdrew. Before they could reach the court, Shahbaz Khan marched with an army and reached Bhiya.⁴ Here he learnt that Iarsun Khan's men had defeated the rebel Arab Shahdur and he was oppressing the weak. Upon this Shahbaz Khan moved from Bhiya to Jagdishpur to punish the rebels.⁵ By this time it had become certain that ~~the~~ Masum Khan Farankhudi was being backed by both Miyabat Khan and Arab Shahdur. Seeing that the rebels had become quite active Shahbaz Khan marched to Awadh. He also sent a letter to Masum Khan and asked him to arrest

1. Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 297.

2. Badaoni (Trans) Vol, II. p. 297

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 483.

4. A.N. (Trans) Vol.III,p. 485

5. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III,p. 485.

Arab Bahadur and Miyabat Khan and Shah Jana and go with them to the court. But Masum Khan did not listen to his advice. He sent his family and house hold across the Garju and prepared for war. Shahbaz Khan also prepared himself for the battle. On 1st January, 1581¹ a severe battle took place near Sultanpur Bilhari fifty miles from Faizabad, in which the rebels fought bravely. During the thick of the battle it was rumoured that Masum Khan had been killed. The rebels who had almost won the battle, now broke and fled.² As regards, Shahbaz Khan he behaved most cowardly on this occasion. Without waiting for the final result of the battle, he lost heart and took to flight to Jaunpur without drawing his reins on the way. However, a little later the imperialists who had assembled at Aurharbour returned, fell upon the rebels and scored over them.³ Thereafter, Masum Khan retreated towards Ayounya. He made fresh preparations for another contest. On the other hand Shahbaz Khan too made fresh preparations for another contest. He had become wiser on account of his experience in the late battle. He marched again towards Awadh on 2nd February, 1582 fought another battle and drove away Masum Khan Farankhudi, leaving Arab Bahadur and Miyabat Khan to save themselves as

1. A.I. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 486; Badaoni (Trans) vol. II, p. 276-294; 297; Bayazid Biyat, op.cit., p. 277; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 543.

2. A.I. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 486; Bayazid Biyat, op.cit. p. 276; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 543.

3. A.I. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 488; Bayazid Biyat, op.cit. p. 276-77; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 297; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 543.

best as they could.¹ As regards Masum Khan he crossed the Sarju in wretched condition. Raja Nan a landholder took him to his house and helped him. When Shahbaz Khan learnt about it he asked Raja Nan to surrender the rebel but the latter refused. A little later, Masum Khan's men deserted him and fled away. Masum Khan accompanied by a few of his followers moved to take shelter in the hills. He left behind his family and treasure in the fort of Ayohya. Later on Shahbaz Khan marched to Ayohya and occupied the fort.²

Some time later one of the followers of Masum Khan Farankhudi placed at his disposal all his accumulated wealth and helped him in collecting the troops and in plundering the city of Bahraich. Thereafter, Masum Khan fell upon Fakr Ali Khan, the faujdar of Bahraich, defeated him and took possession of the city. Shortly after, Aziz Khan, Khiter Khan, and some other assignees of the neighbouring districts collected their soldiers and marched to deal with him. Masum Khan was again defeated and put to flight. The imperialists pursued him as far as Kalyanpur. He retreated to Jalupara and plundered the town of Muhammadabad and even threatened to attack Jaunpur. But Shaham Khan proceeded from Frihut, Bahar Khan from Ghazipur and Masum Khan from Chandpur to protect Jaunpur from falling into the hands of rebel. Shortly after news arrived that the emperor was returning from Kabul. This was enough to compel Masum Khan to lay down arms and seek forgiveness.³

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 490-7; Sayazid Biyat, op.cit, p. 276; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 298.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 496-97; Sayazid Biyat, op.cit. p. 277 Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 298.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 512.

Miyabat Khan son of Mir Hashim Bishapuri, who was appointed revenue collector of halisa land in Subah of Allahabad was assigned jasir in Jhusi and Prayag, misappropriated the revenue. His account was in arrears and when he was asked to submit an up-to-date account of revenue collected from the halisa land, he rebelled. Realising that the emperor was busy against Asaf and Arghandah in eastern Uttar Pradesh, he collected a different regiment for his rebellious activities. He attacked Kara and Varanasi in the west. At Kara he was

The rebellion

opposed by its Governor Ilyas Khan. But

of

the latter was defeated and killed by

different

the rebels. Thereafter, Miyabat Khan

rev, 1561. A.D.

opened the siege to the fort of Kara and devastated the country around. Shortly

after on Tuesday 15th November, 1561, emperor ordered Ismael Quli Khan, Abdul Attalib Khan, Shaikh Jamal Bantiyar and many other officers of the Subah of Allahabad to march against the rebel. ¹ Azir was also directed to assist Ismael Quli Khan.

Upon the approach of the imperial army Miyabat Khan raised the siege and went off to Arai. Somewhere on the bank of Ganges in the pargana Kantit in the arkar of Allahabad and forty two miles from Allahabad, the contingent of Attalib Khan and Shaikh Jamal arrived first and fought a battle with Miyabat. The imperial ~~army~~ forces were about to be defeated when Ismael Quli Khan arrived with the main army. This added fresh vigour

1. A.V. (Irans) Vol. III, p. 480-81; Badaoni (Irans) Vol. II, p. 297.

and gave encouragement to the imperial soldiers to fight desperately and win the battle. Miyyat Khan now broke and fled in sheer disgust.

While Akbar was busy against Mirza Hakim in Kabul, a rebellion occurred in Sambhal. It may be recalled that after the flight of Masum Khan Faranghudi to the Siwalik hills, Arab Bahadur, Miyyat Khan and Shah Dana raised the standard of rebellion and prepared to proceed to Lahore and join Mirza Hakim. They besieged the fort of Bareilly, where its faujdar Hakim-ul-Mulk defeated them. The rebels then withdrew from the fort and plundered the neighbouring regions. Meanwhile the local officers like such as Sakhtiyar Beg from Badaon, Muhammad Ghaznavi from Shamshabad, Mirza Hassan and Mir Abul Hasan from Amroha, Maulana Mahmud and Abdul Asim from Sambhal arrived at Bareilly, to assist Hakim-ul-Mulk against the rebels. By this time Miyyat Khan was joined by Raja Ram Singh, Raja of Badaon, Mukut Sen and Raja Karan besides others. He returned to resume his rebellious activities. But Hakim-ul-Mulk weaned him away and won over the Rajas of the Badaon region. Thereafter Arab Bahadur and Shah Dana were beaten and driven away by the imperialists and their rebellion was suppressed. In this way the rebellion of Miyyat Khan in the western region of Uttar Pradesh was suppressed and peace was restored in the aforesaid region.

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 481; Badaoni does not mention about this battle.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 512-513; Hizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 552-3;

Akbar's recent experience brought home to his mind that he should take further steps to strengthen his hold over Uttar Pradesh. He decided to build a series of strong fort and fortresses at the strategic points in 1583. with this object Akbar set out from Aetehpur Aikri about the middle of October, 1583. From the village Barauli near Agra, the imperial party started in 300 boats, while the main army proceeded by land. At Jatawah he was entertained by Zain Khan Koka and near Kalpi by Muttalib Khan. Akbar paid a visit to the residence of Birbal near Akcarpur and resuming the journey by boat reached Prayag where he stayed for four months. At the confluence of Ganga and Jamuna he laid the foundation of the fort in 1583 in the month of November and within a short time a great city sprang up which became known as Allahabas or¹ Allahabad.

The rebellions which occurred between 1580-83 constituted a great danger to Akbar and the Mughal empire. These rebellions were not only confined to Bihar and Bengal

1. Abul Fazl mentions that, "in an auspicious hour he laid the foundation of the city, and planned out four forts. In each he arranged for lordly residences. The beginning of the city) was the place where the rivers joined. In the first (fort) he fixed that there were to be twelve buildings. In every one there were delightful apartments. There was a garden which was special private chamber of the Jahinshah. In the second there was a place for the Begams and the Princes. In the third there were to be residences for the distant relatives and for personal attendants. The fourth was for the soldiers and subjects. The engineers produced masterpieces, and in a short time the first (fort) was admirably completed. Every one had a place suitable to his rank. In ~~an unexhausted~~ a short time a great city was established." See, A.N. (Trans) Vol.III, p. 617-18.

but they also took place in Ghazipur, Benaras, Allahabad, Awadh, Katchur and other places. Never before, Akbar's courage and ability resourcefulness and statemanship was put to test than during these four critical years.

In 1591-92 A.D. Jaunpur was assigned in Jagir to ¹ Alij Khan probably in succession to Asfur Khan Khan Khanan. Alij Khan became very oppressive which resulted in the migration of many jewellers from Jaunpur. ² In 1593 A.D. Jaunpur was assigned in Jagir to Mirza Yusuf who was sent there with specific instructions to curb down the anti-Mughal elements and restore complete peace and order there. ³

Again after a lull of few years eastern Uttar Pradesh witnessed the rebellion of Prince Salim, who acting in independent manner stationed himself at Allahabad and took possession of Kara and Manikpur, Ghatampur, Kannauj and Bahraich. After expelling the imperial officers from these places he appointed his own officers in those places. He established his headquarters at Allahabad and appointed Lala Beg (Baz Bahadur) to Jarkar Jaunpur and assigned Kalpi to ⁴ Yatim Dhadur.

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 1004, M. J. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 538.

2. Banarasi Das, Ardh Katha, p. 9-10.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 1004

4. Fuzuk-i-Jahangiri (R & B) Vol. I, p. 208; Dr. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 48; A reference about the rebellion of prince Salim has been made by Banarasi Das Jain in his Ardh Katha;

संवत् सोलह सौ इक्कीस । लागे सब कारण आपने ॥
बस एक लौ बरतो होम । आर साहिब रयाह सलेम ॥
बड़ा साहिजादा जा बंद । अकबर पातस्याह को नन्द ॥
आठों टुक कोल बन काज । पातस्याह को भई आवाज ॥
हाकिम दुहा जौनपुर यान । लघु कलाल फामु सुल्तान ॥
साहि इकम अकबर को भयो । साहिजादा कोल बन गये ॥

Akbar who was keen to bring prince Salim to obedience without the use of force despatched Muhammad Sharif a school companion of Prince Salim to advise him to adopt the right path. Surprisingly enough, contrary to the hope of the emperor, Muhammad Sharif widened the breach between father and son and himself became the agil of the rebel prince. Salim was so much impressed by the loyalty of Sharif that he promised him half of his kingdom after his accession to the throne of Agra. Later when the temporary reconciliation was affected between Akbar and Salim, Sharif had to flee from Allahabad in disgrace.¹

In the middle of 1602 A.D. some mischievous nobles at Allahabad instigated the prince to defy openly the imperial authority. He started from Allahabad towards the capital with an army consisting of about 30,000 soldiers and 1000 elephants on the pretext of paying homage to the emperor. But he returned back from tawan and arrived at Allahabad.² A little later, Akbar assigned him the governorship of Bengal and Orissa.³

Shortly after Akbar left Asirgarh for Agra with a view to court measures to bring Salim to obedience. But the mild paternal admonition had no effect on the prince who

1. M.U. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 817; Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 517.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 1210.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 1211; Dr. Beni Prasad, 'History of Jahangir', p. 49.

persisted in his evil ways. In March 1602 he begged emperor's permission to pay a visit to him at Agra and declined to take charge of his new assignments.

Under the influence of his local supporters he continued to hold his independent court at Allahabad. At length being convinced that Abul Fazl had been constantly poisoning the ears of his father,¹ he instigated Bir Singh Bundela to kill him. Accordingly the Bundela chief murdered the Shaikh and sent his head to Salim at Allahabad.² After this incident Salim adopted a more defiant attitude. He began to confer titles and started giving orders that the coins be struck in his name.³ All this roused the wrath of the Mughal emperor, who now made efforts to bring him to obedience.

There appeared to be no hope of Salim's coming back to obedience. His step mother Sultan Salima Begum who loved him very much at length decided to go to Allahabad on a peace mission to bring about reconciliation within a few months after the murder of Abul Fazl.⁴ She brought with her the royal presents in form of an elephant named Bath Lashkar,

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p 1217; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 442-443.

2. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (R & B) Vol. I, p. 25; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 443.

3. Maasir-i-Jahangiri, Elliot & Dowson, Vol VI, p. 442.

4. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 1214; Dr. Beni Prasad, 'History of Jahangir', p. 45.

a chilat and a chasa horse for the prince.¹ When the prince learnt about her arrival, he went two stages ahead to receive her. She persuaded him to return to Agra and offer submission. But his other friends at Allahabad in their interest continued to insist that he should not submit.² At length Sultan Salima's wishes prevailed and the rebel prince gave up his rebellious intentions and accompanied his mother to Agra, where reconciliation was affected between father and son.³ Salim who was interested in coming back to Allahabad somehow managed to persuade his father to allow him to return to Allahabad. On 10th November, 1603⁴ he started from Fathpur Sikri and arrived at Allahabad. Shortly after his arrival he began to behave independently and once again started defying the imperial authority.⁵

It was probably during his stay at Allahabad that Prince Salim laid a garden near Ahuldabad on the imperial highway and utilised the surplus material meant for the fort of Allahabad.⁶ It became a pleasure resort for prince's wife

1. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (R & B) Vol. I, p. 17.

2. Ibid, p. 45.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol.III, p. 1223; 1228; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (R & B) Vol. I, p. 18.

4. A.N. (Trans) Vol.III, p. 1234; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (R & B) Vol. I, p. 21; Dr. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 49.

5. A.N. (Trans) Vol.III, p. 1242.

6. Dr. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 64 (n 3)

Jahang Begum, and the mother of Khusaru. Jahang Begum, it is related was completely disgusted with the strained relations between her husband and father-in-law. Her mental agony increased day by day and more when she learnt that her brother Adho Singh was also opposing her husband. Being fed up with her family life she committed suicide. About her Jahangir writes, "she in her agitation swallowed a quantity of opium and quickly passed away when she could ensure the bad conduct of her son and brother towards me. She became disgusted with¹ life and died. Thereby escaping the present grief and sorrow." She died on 10th May 1604.² She was buried in the centre of Khuldabad garden, which later gave shelter to the ill fated prince Khusaru and came to be known after his name as Khusaru³ Bagh,

At Allahabad Salim became addicted to wine and started adding opium to it for want of more intoxication. He began to behave in most irresponsible manner. For light offences he began to inflict capital punishment. He ordered one news-writer to be slayed in his presence and got another⁴ servant beaten to death. His misdeeds were reported to the emperor, who now decided to take stern action against him to

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1. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (R & B) Vol. I, p. 55-56.
 2. Dr, Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 53-54.
 3. Allahabad District Gazetteer, p. 202; Prayag Pradeep, p. 242.
 4. A.N. (Trans) Vol.III, p.1242.

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bring him to submission. The latter marched from Agra towards Allahabad to chastise the rebel prince. He sent his vanguard ahead. Although his aged mother Hamida Bano Begum was opposed to this expedition yet he marched from Agra on 21st August, 1604 to Allahabad. But due to the serious illness of Hamida Bano, the Queen mother, he had to return post-haste to Agra. The news of the serious illness of grand mother, who along with Salima Begum had always played an important role in bringing about reconciliation between him and his father, touched Jahangir's heart and the latter could not resist himself from leaving for Agra. He realised that this was the best opportunity to offer submission. The submission of the rebel prince relieved Akbar of a great anxiety. He made some fresh appointments to strengthen the Mughal authority in Uttar Pradesh and then died on 17th October 1605 A.D.

On the basis of foregoing account it can be said that in the major part of Akbar's reign, political condition of the region under review remained in chaotic state on account of the rebellious activities of the Uzbeks in the eastern region and Hindu zamindars in the western region. The political developments taking place in Bihar and Bengal also to a large extent were responsible in fostering rebellious conditions in the eastern region. The western region of Uttar Pradesh being nearer to the imperial capital was less trouble-

some as compared to the eastern region. Primarily because of the bad state of affairs in the eastern as well as western region of Uttar Pradesh Akbar was compelled to reorganise the administration, and define the jurisdiction of administrative units. The extent of area covered by the region under review being extensive, it was divided into provinces of Allahabad, Math, Agra and Delhi. This was done for administrative convenience and to maintain effective control over it, to safeguard the interest of the people and to ensure peaceful atmosphere. This was however one step.

About thirty rebellions took place during Akbar's reign in this region. Eleven were of nobles, and the princes, three of the leaders of different provinces, either in the beginning or immediately after their conquest, fourteen of the Hindu zamindars and five were of miscellaneous groups of minor significance.¹ Though the most of the rebellions were conducted individually by one leader but there were occasions when the confederacies were also formed for the simple purpose of combining the forces against the emperor. The princes aspired for throne and crown of Delhi and Agra. Surprisingly enough these princes, who assumed defiant attitude and rebelled, did not assume independence in the principality of their own even though they were in no way inferior

1. Hamida Khatoon, "Incidence of the rebellions during the reign of Akbar," Medieval India Miscellany, Aligarh, 1972, Vol. II.

in resources to Akbar. The challenge thus given by the rival claimants was a serious one. To counter foil the designs of the rebellious princes, Akbar had to win over the support of the Hindu chiefs and some times of the nobles of foreign extraction, besides, he had to introduce the system of checks and balances in administration. He worked out and introduced these two important features in the different units of administration of this region. The result was that it greatly minimised the chances of rebellion.

Despite the recurrence of rebellions in this region, what Akbar accomplished in course of fifty years of his rule in this region was a remarkable feat. Apart from his conquests and consolidation, he encountered the rebellious forces, suppressed them with a heavy hand and made every effort to give this region the long needed peace and tranquility. Complete success in such an extensive region was never possible. Still then the extent to which emperor Akbar succeeded in strengthening his hold over such an extensive rajpi region can not be lost sight of.

CHAPTER V

Peace and Stability

(1605- 1627)

Emperor Jahangir ascended the throne on wed.
23rd October 1605¹ at Agra. After his accession to the throne he made a large number of fresh appointments in this region covered by modern Uttar Pradesh. Surprisingly enough a region which could never experience complete peace and tranquility in the years preceding the death of Emperor Akbar, all of a sudden witnessed it immediately after the accession of the new Emperor. There was hardly any trouble in any part of this extensive region in 1605. It is not difficult to explain the reason thereof.

However, the first event which geared the political activity and affected the region under review was the flight of Prince Khusrav from the capital and his rebellion. He started from Agra and hurried towards the Punjab to try his luck there. Thus, the Emperor marched with his army to pursue him and seize him.² When the rebel Prince reached Mathura

1. Tuzuk (R & B) Vol. I, p. I; Waqiyat-i-Jahangiri, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 284; Iqbal nama-i-Jahangiri, p. 172. Dr. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 115.

2. Tuzuk (R & B) Vol. I, p. 52; Iqbalnama, p. 8, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 264-91.

he was joined by Husain Beg Badakhash, with his three hundred strong horse¹men. And within no time a large number of ploughmen and free lancers joined the ranks of the rebel Prince, till the number of his followers swelled to 12000. The followers of the rebel Prince plundered and devastated the region round Mathura, seized and captured horses and created havoc in every direction leaving the traces of ruin and devastation. Throughout the day they used to loot and plunder and in the night they used to take shelter in the huts of the poor villagers. While moving forward, on the way the prince intercepted the imperial convoy worth a lakh of rupees seized it and distributed it amongst his follow²ers. On the 8th April, 1606 the Emperor halted at Hodal and sent Shaikh Farid Bakhshi and valiant men to pursue Khusru. From here the Emperor sent Dost Muhammad to take care of Agra and the palaces and treasure.⁴ Next day, the emperor resumed his march and halted at Palwal and on the 10th April at Faridabad and on 13th reached Delhi. We are not concerned here about his activities in connection with the pursuit of rebel prince Khusru, because they lie outside the scope of present work.

1. Tuzuk (R & B) Vol. I, p. 54; Iqbalnama, p.9, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 293.

2. Tuzuk (R & B), Vol. I, p. 55-56; Iqbalnama, p.9; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 293.

3. Tuzuk (R & B) Vol. I, p. 57; Iqbalnama, p. 9; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 295.

4. Tuzuk (R & B) Vol. I, p. 57; Iqbalnama, p. 9, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 295.

5. Palwal in Mathura district-Tuzuk, (R & B), Vol. I, p. 57.

Incidentally it may however be mentioned that while he was still busy in suppressing the rebellion, Raja Ram Chand, the ruler of Bandhogarh rose in rebellion. Upon this Abdullah Khan marched from Kalpi, invaded Bandhogarh and made the foresaid Raja captive and brought to Kalpi¹ after suppressing his rebellion. In the 2nd year of the reign Abdullah Khan brought Ram Chandra Sandilah and presented him before the emperor. The latter gave orders that the fetters from his legs should be taken out.² Thereafter, he conferred upon him a robe of honour and handed him over to Raja Baso and asked the latter to release him after taking³ his security.

In 1610 Bikramajit, a zamindar of Bandhogarh rebelled. Jahangir appointed Maha Singh to march towards Bandhogarh and put down the rebellion and at the same time administer the state of Raja Ram Chand.

During the next five years no event of any note occurred in this vast region. In 1615 Jahangir Quli Khan informed the emperor about the death of Chin Qulij who had been assigned jagir in Jaunpur. Earlier the emperor had shown great favour to him by sending his brothers and

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1. Tuzuk (R & B), Vol. I, p. 82.
 2. Tuzuk (R & B) Vol I, p. 87.
 3. Tuzuk (R & B) Vol. I, p. 87.

relations with him and appointing them as his deputies. Chin Qalij's brother Lahauri was a man of wicked disposition. He began to oppress the people of Jaunpur. At length the matter was reported to the Emperor who sent an ahadi to bring Lahauri from Jaunpur. On the approach of the latter, Chin Qalij Khan together with his brother Lahauri took to flight, leaving behind his mansab, his government, place, jagir, money, property, children and people etc. Wherever he went he began to exact money from the aminars. At length Jahangir Quli Khan sent his men to bring them. Both Chin Qalij Khan and his brother were captured. But no sooner did Jahangir Quli Khan's men try to take them to their master than Chin Qalij Khan died on the way. We do not know anything about Lahauri's fate. As regards the deceased Chin Qalij his body was brought to Allahabad and his money was distributed among the aminars from whom he had exacted money.¹

In 1622 Prince Khusaru died at Burhanpur. His body was sent to Agra, where it reached on 2nd June, 1622. From there it was finally diverted to Allahabad for burial. As desired by the anti-Khusaru group at the Mughal court, the body of the late prince was buried by the side of his mother Shah Begam in the garden near Khuldabad at Allahabad.²

1. Tuzuk (R & B) Vol. I, p. 301-2.

2. Tuzuk (R & B) Vol. II, p. 249; English Factories in India, (1622-22) p. 94; Peter Mundy, Vol II, p. 105-6; Dr. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 312-3.

The region under review also witnessed the rebellion of Prince Khurram. After the death of Prince Khusaru the imperial history of Jahangir's reign entered its second phase, in which Khurram assisted by his father-in-law Asaf Khan played an important role. The circumstances leading to the rise of Khurram to power visa vis the circumstances which compelled him to rise in rebellion are well known. He marched from the Deccan towards Agra the seat of Imperial government to conquer and occupy it. When he arrived with his army before Fathpur Sikri and advanced towards Agra, he found the gates of the city closed against him. He therefore sent Vikramajit to plunder the town. Vikramajit robbed the nobles and deprived Lashkar Khan of Rs. 9,00,000. After replenishing his treasury Shahjahan marched with his army all along the banks of river Jamuna, giving out that he was going to meet his father. The news that Shahjahan was marching speedily towards Delhi, where the Emperor had already arrived, compelled the latter to mobilise his army against him. Hence, he sent Mahabat Khan with a large army to block his further advance. No sooner did the rebel prince learn about it than he sent Darab Khan and others to meet Mahabat Khan and his army. The rival armies joined the battle between Subulpur and Bilochpur near Delhi. The imperialists defeated the rebel forces and put them to flight. Meanwhile, Emperor Jahangir continued his march towards Agra and arrived at Fathpur on 10th April, 1623. Without going to the capital he started for Ajmer

because the rebel prince Shahjahan had taken the road leading to the Deccan. Being routed out from the Deccan Shahjahan, crossing through Telingana reached the port of Masaulipatam, whence he pushed on to Orissa. After conquering and occupying Orissa and Bengal, he marched further east and entered Bihar, which passed into his hands easily.

From Patna Shahjahan sent Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung towards Jaunpur with a large army. The latter reached Jaunpur after seven marches.¹ After making satisfactory arrangements for the administration of Bihar, Shahjahan started from Patna and arrived at Salia.² From Salia, he marched towards Allahabad. While he was on the banks of river Gomti, he received a letter from Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung, who had by now reached Jhusi, to inform him that he had sent Nasir Khan with a large army towards Arai in order to obtain the support of the zamindars of Barkar;³ that Mirza Rustam Khan Qandhari was strongly defending the fort of Allahabad, that he was besieging the fort and had sent some of the officers to carry on raids into Kara-Manikpur.⁴ In

1. Baharistan Ghaibi (Trans) Vol. II, p. 718, Dutch Chronicles in Mughal India, p.68.

2. Ibid, p. 722.

3. Barkar is situated at a distance of about 30 miles north west of Allahabad, Dutch Chronicles in Mughal India, p. 68.

4. Baharistan Ghaibi (Trans) Vol. II, p. 726.

the same letter Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung requested Shahjahan¹ to march post haste and arrive at Jaunpur at the earliest. Upon this Shahjahan resumed the journey and arrived at Jaunpur.²

With the arrival of Shahjahan at Jaunpur, once again the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh became a scene of great political activity. From here Shahjahan ordered Raja Bhim to cross the Ganges, opposite Arail along with the Rajputs and amindars and establish Thanas there. Likewise Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung was ordered that he should cross the Ganges opposite Allahabad. Shujaat Khan and Mutqad Khan Bakshi were ordered to proceed to Jhusi and remain ready for extending assistance to Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung. Sher Khan Fath Jung, Dariya Khan Kohilla, Dilawar Khan Barij, Bahadur Khan, Haidar Khan and other Afghans a force of 12,000 men were sent to^a place on the Ganges opposite Kara-Manikpur not to allow the army of Emperor Jahangir to cross the river. These men³ attacked the suburbs of Charkhala. Meanwhile, efforts were made to persuade Mirza Rustam Gandhari to surrender the fort of Allahabad, but he refused. Upon this Mir Shams and Masum Khan alongwith the amindars of Bhati, were sent under the command of Khidmatparast Khan to Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung with instructions to press the siege of

1. Ibid, p. 726.

2. Ibid, p. 726.

3. Baharistan Ghaibi (Trans) Vol.II, p. 727, Dutch Chronicles in Mughal India, p. 68-69.

the fort vigorously and make an assault on it. Shortly after Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan arrived from the Deccan in hot pursuit of the rebel prince Shahjahan. They reached Charknala via Balpi and thence marched towards Kara-Manikpur.¹ Then, some of the loyal Afghans informed Sher Khan Fath Jung alias Dariya Khan of the arrival of the imperial forces and suggested to him to march ahead towards the river to block the passage of Prince Parvez and not to allow him to cross the river. But he refused to listen their advice. With the result Mahabat Khan made preparations to cross the river by collecting the boats.² Before Mahabat Khan could cross the river, Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung reduced the garrison of the fort of Allahabad to sorry plight and compelled Nabardast Khan Bakhini, Giasat Khan (Kotwal of the fort of Allahabad) and many others to come out of the fort and join the standards of the rebel prince.

Despite the large scale desertion of the imperial officers, the imperial pressure on the rebels compelled the latter to think about their safety. Shahjahan sent his family to the fort of Rohtas. Shortly after Mahabat Khan crossed the river Ganges, compelling Sher Khan Fath Jung alias Dariya Khan Rohilla to fall back with his army. About the same time Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung raised the siege of

1. Ibid, p. 728.

2. Ibid, p. 731.

the fort of Allahabad and proceeded towards Jhusi and requested Shahjahan to move from Jaunpur and halt at Bahadurpur. Upon this Shahjahan left Jaunpur and marched towards Benaras and pitched his camp at Bahadurpur. All the forces were withdrawn from different quarters and nobles were asked to join the main army at Bahadurpur.¹

From Bahadurpur, Shahjahan sent a large army under the command of Khidmatparast Khan against Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan. Khidmatparast Khan continued to deliver surprise attacks upon the army of Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan, putting it to great difficulties.² At length, Khan Dauran, Khwaja Ibrahim brother of Khwaja Usman, Khwaja Daud son of Khwaja Sulaiman, took permission from Shahjahan and marched to deliver an attack upon the imperial army. After reaching Jhusi, they fell upon the imperialists. In this skirmish Khan Dauran lost his life and Khwaja Ibrahim and Khwaja Daud were badly ~~wound~~³ wounded and forced to fall back. Thereafter three unsuccessful attempts were made by Shahjahan's army to defeat and disperse the imperial forces but in vain. At last, an indecisive battle took

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1. Baharistan Ghaibi (Trans) Vol. II, p. 736.
 2. Ibid, p. 738-9.
 3. Ibid, p. 745-6.

place on the banks of the river Tons¹. After this battle a large number of zamindars and the supporters of the rebel prince at the instance of Mahabat Khan withdrew to their own country.

After the battle of Tons and desertion of the zamindars of Bengal from the ranks of the rebel prince, Mahabat Khan attempted to cross the river where it was fordable. Shahjahan's army kept a close watch on the movement of the opposite army. Despite close vigilance Mahabat Khan managed to cross the river with the help of the zamindars of this region. Shortly after, the imperial forces had crossed the river Tons, Shahjahan ordered his army to make preparations for the battle. He arrayed his army in the battle formation. Likewise, Sultan Parvez and Mahabat Khan too brought their armies in the battle field. Not going into the details of the disposition of the rival forces, as have been given by Mirza Nathan, the author of Baharistan Ghaibi, it is significant to point out that in the battle of Tons (26th October, 1624) the zamindars of Agra, Allahabad and Kalpi and the neighbouring areas, supported the imperialists against the rebels. In the

1. Ibid, p. 748-9.

2. Ibid, p. 749-50.

3. Baharistan Ghaibi (Trans) Vol. II, p. 758; Dutch Chronicles in Mughal India, p. 69.

battle of Tons the rebel prince was defeated with heavy¹ losses and compelled to withdraw to Bihar.

Thus, only the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh witnessed the rebellious activities of prince Shahjahan. Since Shahjahan's stay in this region was quite short, it could not much affect its political or economic life. The rebellion of Shahjahan was thus a passing phase so far as the history of this region was concerned.

During the short reign of Jahangir, except on a few occasions, on the whole, the extensive region of Uttar Pradesh enjoyed complete peace and tranquillity. There was more than one reason for it. The division of this vast region into subahs of Allahabad, Awdh, Agra and Delhi and many other small units of administration had its effect on the life of the people in general and recalcitrant chiefs in particular. Secondly, the regular appointments of the subehdars and officials in these provinces, their transfers besides, the creation of large number of faujdaris in this region during the previous reign and strict control of the centre over the different units of administration and the application of the principles of checks and balances reduced the possibilities of rebellions of far reaching consequences in this region. Lastly, the cordial relations of the imperial power with the Hindu chiefs of this region was also an important reason for peace during 22 years of Jahangir's rule in this region.

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1. Baharistan Ghaibi, p. 762, Dutch Chronicles in Mughal India, p. 70.

CHAPTER VI.

PEACE AND STABILITY

(1628 - 1659)

The reign of Shahjahan, who ascended the glittering throne of Agra in 1628 A.D. witnessed many political activities in the region under review. Shortly after his accession to the throne Jan Sipar Khan was appointed Subehdar of Allahabad vice Jahangir Quli, ¹ Islam Khan was appointed governor of Agra Vice Wazir Khan and no governor was appointed in Oudh. The two important rebellions which occurred early in the reign of Shahjahan in this region give an indication of the revival of rebellious tendencies. The first of these rebellions, was that of Khanjahan Lodi, a capable but turbulent officer who was appointed as commander-in-chief ^{of} the imperial forces in the Deccan. Upon his failure in the Deccan. Khanjahan Lodi was summoned to the court. He found atmosphere of the court quite cold and unfriendly. He felt humiliated in the new set up. Those who were jealous of him were

1. Jam Lahauri, Vol. I, p. 69, 82-89, Qazwini, ff. 121-32 Muhammad Jadiq, Tarikh-i Shahjahan p. 4; Maucci, Vol I, p. 181; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 338; 'English Factories' (1608-33) p. 112, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 435, Dr.B.P. Saksena, 'History of Shahjahan of Bijli', p. 62-63.

anxious to lower his dignity. The replacement of Jahangir's old nobility by those who were the favourites the new emperor¹ was intolerable to him. There was hardly anything to cheer him up or to hold a promise. To confirm his misgiving as it were, he was asked to disperse his men and some of his Jagirs were resumed. He was positively alarmed when he heard that he was likely to be placed in custody. He stopped going to the court and placed strong guards at his residence. On being apprised of the circumstances he became nervous. It is true that the emperor himself wrote a letter to him assuring him of his safety and Asaf Khan also extended an olive branch yet fear continued

THE

REBELLION

OF

KHANJAHAN

LODI

to lurch in his mind. Eight months were long enough to watch the trend of affair and the turn of wheel of fortune. Khanjahan could bear it no longer. Early

in the night of October 5, 1629, when it was turn² of Asaf Khan to mount guard, some of his followers, whose houses were close to that of Khanjahan reported to Asaf Khan about former's plan to flee from Agra. It was indeed

1. Lahauri, Vol. IX, p. 272; 276. Qazwini, ff. 280 b-181; Muhammad Jadiq, Tarikh-i Shahjahan, ff. 8, Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 418; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 9, Dr. B.P. Saksena, History of Shahjahan of Dhilli, p. 66-78.

2. Lahauri, Vol. IX, p. 272-76; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 9; Dr. B.P. Saksena, Shahjahan of Dhilli p. 171.

a false and risky step which ultimately led to his ruin but he could see no other way as he was not given any assignment outside the capital. The news of his flight was communicated to the emperor by Asaf Khan when about a quarter of the night had already passed. ¹ Shahjahan immediately ordered Khawja Abul Hasan, Juyyid Muzaffar Khan and others to pursue the rebel. Khanjahan Lodi passed through Dholpur and Chambal and decided to take shelter in the Deccan. ² Failing to get any success in the Deccan he left the Deccan for the north; In sheer disgust he turned right and entered Bundelkhand. Vikramaditya Bundela w/o Jujhar Singh Bundela could foresee consequences of supporting him, therefore, instead of giving any support to him, attacked him on 11th January, 1631 and ³ Killed Darya Khan, who commanded the rear of the rebel army. Darya Khan's head was sent to court and Khanjahan Lodi ~~narr~~ narrowly escaped the hands of the Bundelas. In sheer disappointment he moved with his band of forces towards north east and entered Bandogarh, then ruled by the hereditary Hindu chief, Amar Singh Baghela. ⁴ On Saturday 22 January, 1631

1. M.U. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 725; Muhammad Sadiq, Tarikh-i-Shahjahan, p. 21.

2. For the details about the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi, see Lahauri, Vol. IX, p. 274-6; Dr. B.P. Saksena, op.cit, p. 67-78; Dr. Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, p. 301-302;

3. Lahauri, Vol. IX, p. 272, Qazwini, ff. 208-209, Elliot & Dowson Vol. VII, p. 10; Dr. B.P. Saksena, His History of Shahjahan of Mihili, p. 78.

4. Lahauri, Vol. IX, p. 238-239; Muhammad Sadiq, Tarikh-i-Shahjahan, p. 23.

the rebels encamped at distance of eight kos from Meeme,¹ which was situated at a distance of 15 kos from Sihonda, and 30 kos from Allahabad. Muzaffar Khan, who commanded the vanguard of the imperial army, rushed towards the rebel Afghans who were busyⁱⁿ plundering the vicinity of Meeme. Having learnt about the approach of the royal army, the rebels with a strength of 1000 horses² tried to block the passage of Muzaffar Khan. This resulted in a clash between the opposite camps. The imperialists fought with bravery and courage. Their two noted warriors Raja Dawarka Das and Alam were killed. Muhammad the son of Khanjahan Lodi, who led the Kohilla group in the rebel camp was also killed along with his many followers. While the forces of the rebels and the imperialists were engaged in a heavy fight, Khanjahan's face was seriously wounded and his son was killed. He knew it well that any further resistance would be useless, so he took to flight once again. His army fled in confusion leaving behind a number of elephants. Some elephants fell into the hands of Raja Amar Singh Baghela and 20 of them were caught in the vicinity of Malinjar and were sent to³ the emperor.

1. Sihonda was a pargana in the parker of Malinjar in Subah of Allahabad, Ain Vol. II, p. 177, Elliot & Dowson Vol. VII, p. 21; Qazwini ff.p. 208-209; Dr. B.P. Saksena, History of Shahjahan of Dhilli, p.78

2. M. U. Vol. I, p. 302.

3. Lahauri, Vol. I, p. 349, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 20, Muhammad Sadiq, Tarikh-i-Shahjahan, p.23, Dr. B.P. Saksena, History of Shahjahan of Dhilli, p. 78-79.

Khanjahan Lodi then reached Malinjar in 1631. The fort of Malinjar was held by Sayyid Ahmad. The emperor had issued specific instructions to the Qiladar of Malinjar alerting him about every possible threat of the Bundela rebellion and the undesirable movements of Khanjahan Lodi. When he became aware of Khanjahan's entry in the vicinity of Malinjar, he proceeded with his army and attacked the rebels. A battle took place in which Sayyid Ahmad, the Qiladar made Hasan another son of Khanjahan Lodi, captive and put the rest to flight. He also captured 22 elephants from the rebels and sent them to the emperor. In this battle Khanjahan Lodi lost his tugh banner and in a state of helplessness, he fled again with a small number of followers. He moved northwards and after moving with great difficulty he covered a distance of 20 Kos in a day and reached near a tank near Sihonda, situated on the river ¹Ken. Shortly after, emperor bestowed the title of the Jangbaz Khan on Sayyid Ahmad, the Qiladar of Malinjar for his loyal and devoted services and instructed him to drive away the Afghans ²completely from his region. The imperial army hotly pursued

1. Lahauri, Vol. I, pp. 349-350 Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 21; Khafi Khan Vol. I, p. 440; M. T. Vol. I, pp. 577, 793, 802.

2. Lahauri, Vol. I, p. 351.

him and thus he lost every hope of any success against the imperial arms. At Sihonda he requested his followers to leave him upon his own fate and take refuge wherever they deem proper. Acting according to his suggestion many of his followers abandoned his cause. Despite this heavy desertion many his followers preferred death to desertion. The imperial army arrived under Madhu Singh to give the rebels a good set back. The desperate Khanjahan now decided to meet the loyalists with his handful of forces. He arrayed his men, put two of his remaining dependants in front of his forces and asked his son Aziz to advance.

The imperial forces under Muzzaffar Khan and Madhu Singh attacked and charged vigourously upon the rebel Afghans who were much less in number. The battle of Sihonda was fought on 24th January, 1631. When Khanjahan found that the imperialists were determined to arrest him; he alighted from the horse and began to fight desperately. Now, his end was approaching near. Madhu Singh pierced his spear in his body. And before Muzzaffar Khan could come one of the loyalists beheaded Khanjahan. His sons Aziz and Aimal were also cut to pieces. ¹ Meanwhile, Abdullah Khan also arrived with his forces and sent Khanjahan's head to the emperor through his

1. Lahauri, Vol. I, pp. 349-351. Khafi Khan, Vol. I, p. 440; M.U. Vol. I, p. 55, Elliot & Dowson; Vol. VII, p. 22.

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nephew Ramgar who received the title of Ghairat Khan. The rebellion of Khanjahan Lodi affected only the south eastern portion of the region. For sixteen months tension continued to prevail in the region under review.

Some of the local chiefs became powerful in Uttar Pradesh in later years of Jahangir's reign. In 1630-31 near the dense forests of Allahabad, Abdal was one who had become quite powerful. He constructed a fort and indulged in the rebellious activities. His authority grew to the extent that he started plundering every body passing through his area. Abdal created a state of lawlessness in the region. Consequently, Salij Khan Turani, the Subehdar of Allahabad attacked the rebel and captured his territories. About 1000 rebels were arrested and their ladies committed Jauhar but Abdal managed to escape.

1. Lahauri, Vol. I, p. 248-52; Gazwini ff. 216, 217 b M.U. Vol. I, p. 576, Elliot & Dowson, VII, p. 23; Muhammad Jadiq, Tarikh-i-Shahjahan, p. 8, 23.

2. Dr. B.P. Saksena, History of Shahjahan of Dhilli, p. 79.

3. Lahauri, Vol. I, p. 431-32; Khafi Khan, Vol. I, p. 454; Muhammad Jadiq, Tarikh-i-Shahjahan, ff. 51-52 M. I., Vol. II, p. 542; Peter Wundy Vol. I, p. 178; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 37.

Salij Khan confiscated the property of the rebel and restored peace and order in the area. The temple constructed by the rebel was also converted into a mosque and the place was renamed as ¹Islamabad.

Incidentally it may be pointed out that fertile tract of Uttar Pradesh was mostly inhabited by the various Rajput clans. They were turbulent and always ready to overthrow the new comers. After the great rebellion of Khanjahan Lodi, Khanjahan became cautious in awarding promotions and employment to the Afghans. However, he continued to give ample grants, land, mansabs and money to the faithful Afghans.

THE REBELS

OF THE

RAJPUTS

AND

COLONIZATION

OF

AFGHANS IN

AFGHANISTAN

The result was that a large numbers of Afghan tribes migrated to India and settled in different parts of Uttar Pradesh. In this region there were already anti Afghan feelings and the Rajputs never wanted that the Afghans should be allowed to settle down here. As early as 1631 the Katahariya Rajputs had risen ~~revolt~~ revolt under the supervision of Raja

²
Ram Sukh of Chaupala. This rebellion was suppressed by the veteran Rustam Khan Deccani, the Governor of Ambhal who

1. Lahauri, Vol. I, p. 445-451; Khafi Khan, Vol. I, p. 454; Muhammad Sadiq, Tarikh-i-Shahjahan, p. 51-52; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 178; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 36.

2. Moradabad District Gazetteer, p. 152-3; Muhammad Sabihuddin, Tarikh-i-Shahjahanpur, p. 10; Chaupala is now in Moradabad District.

laid the foundation of Mastannagar after his name which he subsequently named as Moradabad¹, after the name of Prince Murad to escape emperor's wrath. The Afghans settled down in this town and its neighbouring localities. The land occupied by the Afghans originally belonged to the Rajputs. The government took away large areas from them and granted them to the Afghan generals and chiefs. The loss of land, the mainstay of Rajputs provoked them to the great extremes. Force failed to crush them and they become restless. This restlessness continued smouldering till the beginning of the 18th century. The landless Rajputs joined by their clansmen and other warlike races took up arms again and again and created trouble². The rebellious tendencies continued to grow around Katehar. Bahadur Khan Rohilla, who held the jagirs in Balpi and Kannauj had also to face a serious rebellion in 1632 at Malkosa, where 20,000 musketeers created disorder.

Peter Mundy mentions about the rebellious activities of Zamindars of Bhadaoi. They used to collect money from the persons passing through their territory and used to defy the imperial authority. Some times they used

1. Moradabad District Gazetteer, p, 152-3; Mohammad Jabinuddin, Tarikh-i-Bahadurpur, p. 10.

2. Muhammad Jabinuddin, Tarikh-i-Bahadurpur, p.10; Qazwini, Bahadur Nama, p. 526; Lahauri, Vol. I, p. 238;

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to abuse the Imperial officers and the emperor also. Similarly, the inhabitants of Dalman, which were mostly his Rajputs were in the habit of defying the Imperial authority. According to the author of *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Murtaza Khan was given the charge of Dalman and was appointed to punish the rebels there who had become troublesome. As his home was near Dalman, Murtaza Khan collected a large army and exerted himself vigorously in searching and reducing the rebels of Dalman. He was repeatedly victorious. His administration proved successful. In 1600-54 he was removed from his duties at Dalman. There are many other instances when the Hais Rajputs created problems in this period and grew turbulent.

4

It has earlier been related that the Afghans had become powerful in the Doab region. In 1647, Bahadur Khan sent treasures from Delhi to Kanauj via Pant-Gola which was plundered by Sachil and other Rajputs. Highly infuriated by their audacity, Bahadur Khan obtained Imperial orders to send an army against the rebels. He sent his brother Diler Khan

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1. Peter Mundy, Vol. II. p. 110, 118-19; 161;
2. Dalman is in Larkar Kanikpur, Ain, Vol. II, p. 170.
3. Lahauri, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 183; Ain (Trans) Vol. I, No 322; Ain, Vol II, (Trans) p. 316.
4. M. U. ; Vol. II, p. 316-17.
5. Mohammad Sabihuddin, Tarikh-i-Bahadurpur, p. 10; Bahadurpur District Gazetteer, p. 136;
6. Mohammad Sabihuddin, Tarikh-i-Bahadurpur, p. 10; Bahadurpur District Gazetteer, p. 136.
7. M. U. Vol. II, p. 42-45.

and brought the area under complete subjugation.¹ In recognition of the services rendered by the Afghans, Shahjahan² granted fourteen villages in altanaha to Bahadur Khan. Piler³ Khan laid the foundation of Shahjahanpur on a high land near⁴ the confluence of riverlets Curra and Khanaut in 1647.

Bahadur Khan, who had been serving in Salah since 1646, and to whom the fourteen villages had been assigned in Kolilahanam, persuaded the Afghan clans to migrate and settle⁵ in the newly founded city of Shahjahanpur. Consequently,⁶ a caravan of nine thousand Afghans belonging to different tribes⁷ (at Shahjahanpur under the leadership of Nizam Khan and Yusuf⁸ Khan. Shahbaz Khan who arrived founded Shahbaznagar in the⁹ District. Shahjahanpur after his name and his family¹⁰ settled there. About the same time, a subordinate

1. Mohammad Sabihuddin, Tarikh-i-Shahjahanpur, p. 11-12; Shahjahanpur District Gazetteer, p. 136.

2. Mohammad Sabihuddin, Tarikh-i-Shahjahanpur, p. 12;

3. Mohammad Sabihuddin, Tarikh-i-Shahjahanpur, p. 13-14; Alamgir Nama, Vol. I, p. 169; Shahjahanpur District Gazetteer p. 136;

4. It is mentioned as Khanaut in, Shahjahanpur District Gazetteer, p. 130

5. Shahjahanpur District Gazetteer, p. 136.

6. Shahjahanpur District Gazetteer, p. 136, J.N. Sarkar, "Call of Mughal empire", Vol. I, p. 42.

7. Ain-i-Akbari, p. 483.

8. Ain-i-Akbari, p. 483.

9. Muhammad Sabihuddin, Tarikh-i-Shahjahanpur, p. 12.

10. Ibid p. 13.

officer of Diler Khan laid the foundation of another Afghan colony named ¹Modipur. Likewise, ²Tubariz Khan another Afghan General secured eleven villages from the government in the old pargana of ³Mjhani and Jhabarsi. These villages were taken into possession by his son-in-law and his family settled ⁴there peacefully.

The process of Afghan colonisation was carried out so relentlessly in Katchar. Despite this, the Rajput ~~landlords~~ always remained hostile and they never gave up their struggle for regaining their lost possessions.

Shahjahan granted some Jagirs to Diler Khan in 1653 in the vicinity of Bareilly. Very soon the new Jagirdar ^{were} called upon to face a serious armed conflict with the old Rajputs who were the master of the land. In this conflict the Rajput Jagirdar died and his son, Ita Singh had to escape to ^asafe place. Nevertheless, the condition of Rohilkhand remained so chaotic that the emperor had to direct Rustam Khan to suppress the recalcitrant elements there. Rustam Khan

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1. Ibid. p. 13.
 2. Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. III, p. 442-44.
 3. Moradabad District Gazetteer, p. 98.
 4. Muhammad Sabihuddin, Tarikh-i-Shahjahanpur, p. 28, Moradabad District Gazetteer, p. 136.
 5. Muhammad Sabihuddin, Tarikh-i-Shahjahanpur, p. 289.
 6. Muhammad Sadia, Tarikh-i-Shahjahanpur, p. 259.

Austam Khan confiscated the sanindari of Jita Singh and¹
gave it to Diler Khan according to the imperial orders.
Diler Khan thus settled down there and the locality became²
known after his name as Diler Nagar.

3

On 6th September, 1657 A. D. Shahjahan suddenly fell ill. The malady developed so rapidly that in a short ~~time~~ time he was confined to bed. He stopped appearing in the court. This caused apprehension in court and capital alike. His old age and infirmity of his heart and mind, his weak and vacillating behaviour brought forth the question of succession. Not going into the details of different phases of this war of succession it may be mentioned that in the beginning the political developments centred round Delhi and the region west of Agra. We are not concerned here with those developments and events which took place outside the region under review.

However the eastern Uttar Pradesh witnessed a very important phase of the war of succession. When Prince Jhuja learnt about the illness of his father Shahjahan, he

1. Muhammad Jadiq, Tarikh-i-Shahjahan, p. 259.

2. Muhammad Jadiq, Tarikh-i-Shahjahan, p. 259.

3. Muhammad Jadiq, Tarikh-i-Shahjahan, p. 285-86; Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul-Dubab, p, Vol. II, p. 5-6; Saqi Mustaid Khan, Massir-i-Alamgiri, p. 1; Maqiyat-i-Alamgiri, p. 12; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 213-14; Dr. B.P. Saksena, Shahjahan of Dhilli, p. 321; J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, p. 309.

immediately crowned himself at Rajmahal, the capital of Bengal and started with a large army towards the imperial capital to seize the crown and the throne. After overrunning the province of Bihar he reached Benaras on 24th January, 1658.¹ Meanwhile Dara had despatched an army of 20,000 cavalry, 2000 foot musketeers and 200 barcandazes and many elephants under the nominal command of his eldest son Sulaiman Chikbh to block the passage of Shuja and prevent him from marching beyond Benaras. The more experienced generals such as Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Diler Khan Muhela and others who accompanied this army were advised by the old sovereign Shahjahan to avoid a bloody conflict and that they, "should not molest Shuja if he retired peacefully from Bihar to his own province of Bengal and should fight only if he persisted in advancing."² The imperial forces reached Allahabad and then crossed the Ganges on 14th January and by slow marches reached Benaras. After reaching Benaras,³ the imperial army constructed a bridge to cross the river and to take up position at Bahadurpur

1. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I. & II, p. 467; K. R. Qanungo, "Dara Shikoh," Vol. I. p. 167.

2. J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 467-8.

3. Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol. II, p. 5-6; Elliot & Dowson, Vol VII, p. 215; J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 468; K. R. Qanungo, op.cit. p. 171;

where the rebellious Prince Chhuja was encamping with his
1
army. In the construction of bridge the imperialists were
assisted by Dokul Jjjainiya an influential Zamindar of
Benaras. He provided large number of boats and other
material.² After crossing the river, the imperial army took
up its position opposite to the enemy's camp at Bahadurpur.
There was distance of about three miles between the rival
camps. For some time there was no straight fight between
them. The artillery duel and ~~minor~~ minor skirmishes between
3
them continued for some time. Meanwhile Prince Dilawan
Chikoh studied the enemy's position. He found that Prince
Chhuja had not taken ordinary military precautions to safeguard
his army from any untoward eventuality. He also found that
there was no arrangement for patrolling the camp and that
Chhuja was indolent and lazy and sleeps till late in the
4
mornning. Consequently he decided to deliver a surprise
attack upon the enemy and take advantage of its weaknesses.

Accordingly he made his own military preparations.
Hardly the preparation for a concerted attack upon the enemy
was over than arrived money to the extent of six lakhs of

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1. Bahadurpur is five miles north east of Benaras.
 2. Jaipur Records, Sarkar's Collection, Vol. I, p. 99;
Also see, S.N. Sinha, History of Subah of Allahabad
(Unpublished Thesis) p. 183;
 3. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p.468.
 4. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 468;
R. R. Qanungo, op.cit, p 173.

rupees from Dara for fresh recruitment and distribution of it among the imperial soldiers.¹ This augmented the strength of the fighting forces and spurred Prince Sulaiman Chikoh to take action at the earliest.

For some time the imperial army failed to compel Prince Anuja to open the offensive. Nor could it block the supplies of the latter reaching by river to his camp. In order to cut off the supplies the imperialists themselves were required to collect flotilla of boats. Even after that it continued to be on the defensive till it was rebuked by Prince Dara for making unnecessary delay in opening the offensive. Prince Dara in his communication to Prince Sulaiman ordered him to deliver an attack immediately on the enemy, to take help from Gokul Ujjainiya, the Zamindar of Benaras² and ask the latter to send his footmen and soldiers in all the directions to block all the possible fords through which there was the least possibility of supplies reaching the enemy's camp. This would force the enemy to fight in³ desperation.

Early in the morning of 14th February, 1658,

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1. Jaipur Records, Bunker's Collection, Vol. II, p. 311-12.
 2. Dr. C.B. Tripathi, Life and Times of Mirza Raja Jai Singh, (Unpublished Thesis), p. 139.
 3. Jaipur Records, Bunker's Collection, Vol. I, p. 5, 7; K.R., Qanungo, Dara Shukoh, p. 172;

Sulaiman Chikoh advanced along with Bahadur Khan and Mukarmat Khan. To his right, Raja Anirudh, Fakhr Khan in the rear, while the right wing was assigned to Ikhlas Khan, Mirza Raja Jai Singh was deputed to command the 'Haraval' assisted by Rai Singh, Kishen Singh, Saiyyid Muzaffar, Saiyyid Bahadur, Saiyyid Salabat (the Naib-i-Nazim of Allahabad) Jai Bhan Rathor and Makhan Singh Sisodia.¹ The peacefully reposing army of Shuja was surprised by the imperialists.² The Bengal soldiers after rubbing their sleepy eyes found that the enemy was already around them, they had no time to put on their tunics but took the shortest road to safety. The prevailing confusion in his camp awoke Shuja from his sleep, who immediately mounted on an elephant and tried to restore order in his army. The battle of Bahadurpur turned in favour of the imperialists. The prince somehow managed to reach the bank of the Ganges with active help of his devoted followers like Mir Isfandar Mamuri and Saiyyid Ismael Bukhari and immediately sailed towards Bihar. The imperial army reached river bank and killed the remaining soldiers of Shuja's camp who were also trying to flee away. For 10 miles Shuja rowed without

1. Jaipur Records (Hindi) Vol. IV. Pt. VIII pp. 126-130 for letter of Jai Singh to his son Ram Singh written from Bahadur. On 15th Feb. 1658.

2. Dr. C.B. Tripathi, Life and Times of Mirza Raja Jai Singh, (Unpublished Thesis) p. 160; Measir-i-Alamgiri, p. 31.

a stop little caring for his soldiers, running in utter¹ helplessness,

Shortly after the defeat of Prince Shuja and his flight from the field, his camp was plundered by the imperial soldiers. booty worth about two Crores fell into their² hands. Thereafter, a hot pursuit of the fleeing Bengali soldiers was made. The rebel prince and his soldiers were pursued beyond the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh.³ While the imperialists were still pursuing Prince Shuja, Prince Sulaiman Chikoh received a ~~xxx~~ message from his father Dara that he should immediately conclude peace with his uncle and return to the capital at the earliest to join him.⁴

Incidentally it may be mentioned that while a part of the imperial army was busy against Prince Shuja, another army which had been sent under Jaswant Singh to block the passage of the combined forces of Prince Aurangzeb and Murad, had experienced defeat in the battle of Dharmat in 15th April 1658 and the two brothers were now in full march towards the imperial capital,

Following the instructions of his father Dara Prince Sulaiman Chikoh immediately concluded peace with

1. Shri J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, pp. 470-471; K.N. Panungo, Dara Chikoh, p. 173-74;

2. Jaipur Records, Sarkar's Collection, Vol. IV, pt. VII, p. 126-30.

3. For details see, J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol I & II, p. 469-72.

4. ~~Kora was a pargana, situated in Berar and Subah Ailahabad. See, Ain (Irans) Vol. II.~~

Shah Jhuja in May 1658 and then began his return march from the eastern region. When he reached Kora near Allahabad on 2nd June 1658, he received the news of his father's defeat in the battle of Jamugarh.² After the battle of Jamugarh alarming events took place in succession. Aurangzeb pushed on to Agra, took possession of Agra fort, deposed his father Shahjahan, treacherously imprisoned his brother Murad and made himself supreme ruler of Hindustan.³

The news of Dara's fall and the accession of Aurangzeb produced great excitement in Sulaiman Chikoh's army in the eastern region. Shortly after news was received that Aurangzeb had despatched two large armies to prevent Prince Sulaiman Chikoh from crossing the Ganges and Jamuna. The young prince took advice from Mirza Raja Jai Singh about the future course of action. The latter advised him either to push on to Delhi or to fall back on Allahabad and there wait for the news of his father.⁴ As regards himself, Jai Singh refused to follow him and decided to go and join the

1. Kora was a pargana, situated in Barkar and Mubah Allahabad, See, Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 178.

2. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 473, K.R. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 234.

3. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 473.

4. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 552.

new emperor Aurangzeb with his troops.¹ The helpless Prince Gulaiman Shikoh now consulted Diler Khan the Afghan general, who advised him to cross the Ganges at Allahabad, go to Shahjahanpur, raise an army of the Afghans and wait for fresh developments. The Afghan general also frankly told him that² only on such condition he was willing to accompany the prince. Gulaiman Shikoh had now no other alternative than to accept his suggestion. He therefore ordered his army to withdraw to Allahabad. But in the meantime Mirza Raja Jai Singh convinced Diler Khan of the folly of taking up the cause of the defeated Prince Dara.³ When the imperial army reached Kara, the two leading generals deserted the cause of Prince Dara and returned back to their homes. Despite this desertion, Prince Gulaiman continued the retreat under the guidance of his guardian Baqi Beg. On the way he was advised to seize and govern the country from Allahabad to Patna. Others counselled him to retreat to Patna, join Shuja and then raise a strong force against Aurangzeb. The Sayyads of Barha on the other hand pressed him to follow a longer route through the Doab then

1. Jaipur Records, Sarkar's Collection, Vol. I. p.83-84, J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 552.

2. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 552.

3. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 552.

then cross the Ganges and Jamuna at the foot of the hills near Nagina and Aharanpur and join Dara in the Punjab. At length, Prince accepted the advice of the Sayyids of Barha.¹ Leaving his heavy baggage, stores, and harem attendants in the fort of Allahabad in charge of Sayyid Qasim Barha, he crossed the Ganges on 14th June. Passing through Lucknow and Moradabad he rapidly marched towards Nagina, where he plundered the government treasury of two lakh rupees and some private property. Desertions in his rank continued. ~~At~~ On the way he was called upon to face tremendous difficulties. At length he proceeded further up the river towards Haradwar in the hope of crossing the Ganges there with the help of local Zaminlars. He halted at Chandi for a few days. From here he sent his officer Bhawanidas to the Rajah of Srinagar² to seek assistance.

Sulaiman Shikoh's stay at Chandi near Haradwar proved fatal because within a few days the imperial forces of Aurangzeb moved in that direction to bar his passage. Early in the middle of July Aurangzeb had sent an army under Shaista Khan to Haradwar side to oppose Sulaiman Shikoh and prevent him from crossing the Ganges. On 24th July another

1. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 553.

2. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 554; K.K. Qanungo, Dara Shikoh, p. 234-35.

army was sent under Chalkh Mir and Jiler Khan to guard the right bank of Jamuna and prevent Sulaiman's flight across that river.¹ Thus the northern region of Uttar Pradesh became the scene of hectic military activities, which were directed against Sulaiman Shikoh.

While Shaista Khan was advancing to the right bank of the Ganges near the hills, Fidai Khan reached the ferry of Puth, south east of Hapur in the hope that the prince would cross the Ganges there in his westward movement from Lucknow. Here he learnt from a letter from the Rajah of Aumrah an enemy of Rajah of Prinagar, that the fugitive prince was marching northwards to Haradwar in order to cross the Ganges there with the help of Raja Prithvi Chand of Prinagar. Upon this Fidai Khan marched post-haste and covering a distance of about one hundred sixty miles in one day he reached the right bank of the river at Haradwar in the afternoon.² In the very after noon Sulaiman Shikoh was intending to cross the Ganges. The appearance of Fidai Khan and the rumour that Shaista Khan's army was also about to reach there unnerved him. Now he turned his back from the Ganges towards the Prinagar hills to take shelter there. He was abandoned by the Sayyids of

1. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 555.

2. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 555

Barha. His faithful officer Baqi Beg also died on the way. His following was reduced to only 2000 men. In despair of proceeding to the Punjab, Sulaiman Chikoh requested Prithvi Chandra the Rajah of Srinagar to help him and marched towards his country. The Rajah welcomed him but instead of staying there he returned to Nagina, where again he was deserted by his men. Again he decided to return to Srinagar and take shelter there. With two hundred followers he again started withdrawing to Srinagar.¹

But hardly had he left Nagina, Qasim Khan arrived there. He learnt about Prince's flight. Without halting there he continued his pursuit. The news of the approach of the imperial soldiers further reduced his rank. With great difficulty Sulaiman Chikoh reached Srinagar where he was welcomed by the Rajah. For a year Sulaiman lived in peace. When Aurangzeb learnt about the fact that the Rajah of Srinagar had given shelter to fugitive prince, he wrote to him to surrender him. Prithvi Singh the Rajah of Srinagar denied the charge that he had given shelter to any prince. But the fact could not remain a hidden secret. After disposing off all his rivals Aurangzeb turned his attention to Sulaiman Chikoh. On 27th July, 1659 he sent Raja Rajrup of the Jammu

1. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 554-55; K. R. Qanungo, Dara Shukoh, p. 235-36.

hills to persuade Prithvi Chand to surrender the prince. Prithvi Chand refused to surrender the e Prince. Consequently Aurangzeb despatched an army, artillery and musketeers in October 1660 to compel the Rajah to submit. Thereafter the services of Jai Singh were utilised and the Rajah was compelled to surrender the fugitive prince. On 27th December he was sent down to plains and delivered to ¹ Ram Singh and on 2nd January he was brought to Delhi.

Now we should again return to the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh where in the period following the departure of Prince Sulaiman Shikoh certain alarming events took place. While Aurangzeb was still busy in pursuing Dara in the Punjab, he wrote a letter to Prince Shuja, "As you had often before begged the emperor Shahjahan for the province of Bihar, I now add it to your viceroyalty. Pass some time peacefully in administering it and repairing your broken power. When I return after disposing of the affair of Dara, I shall try to gratify your other wishes. Like a true brother I shall not ² refuse you anything that you desire be it land or money." The game of Aurangzeb was clear. He simply wanted to pacify his rival Shuja for the time being. But Shuja was not less

1. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 557-63; K.R. Qamungo, Dara Shikoh, p. 236-237.

2. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 474.

ambitious. No sooner did he learn that Aurangzeb was busy in pursuing Dara in the Punjab than he again started from Bengal to exploit the situation to his own advantage.

Prince Shuja set out from Patna towards the end of October, 1658 A.D. with 25,000 cavalry, artillery and a vast flotilla. While Prince Shuja was moving towards the Subah. of Allahabad, Prince Dara after his defeat in the battle of Samugrah ordered his officers in the forts of Rohtas (Bihar) Chunar and Benaras (which were) directly under his charge) to surrender them to prince Shuja. All the forts opened their gates for the Bengal army headed by prince Shuja. Sayyid Yusuf Barha the commandant of the fort of Allahabad¹ sent a letter of submission to him. While he proceeded further west with the main army he sent a detachment under the charge of Sayyid Alan, Hasan and Khawja Khusru to capture Jaunpur. Mukram Khan Safvi, who was the Faujdar of Jaunpur, tried to defend the fort by bombarding the Bengal contingent. Failing to face the deadly charge of Shuja's contingent he² submitted and joined his army. At Benaras prince Shuja

1. Alamgirnama, p. 225-226.

2. Alamgirnama, p. 239; Khafiz Khan, Vol. II, p. 47; J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 476.

collected sum of rupees three lacs from the merchants. This¹ further facilitated Shuja's task in preparing himself for the forthcoming battle.

Prince Shuja advanced further reached Allahabad on the Thursday 23rd December, 1658 A.D.² Upon his arrival at Allahabad a contingent of Aurangzeb's force under Khan Dauran, which had been besieging the fort raised the siege and retreated to Khajwa (near Kora).³ Prince Shuja's further advance from Allahabad was checked by the imperial forces under Prince Muhammad the eldest son of Aurangzeb.⁴ A little later Khan Dauran also joined the latter. Shortly afterwards the imperial army was further strengthened by the arrival of Zulfiqar Khan with more artillery, one Carore rupees from Agra fort and several other officers.⁵ This was followed by the arrival of Aurangzeb to fight against Shuja. On 3rd January 1659 the battle of Khajwa took place in which Shah Shuja was badly defeated and put to flight.⁶

The defeat^{-ed} prince crossed the Ganges and then encamped at Thusi, opposite Allahabad. Shortly after Dara's

1. Alamgirnama, p. 239; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 47; T. I. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 476.

2. Alamgirnama, p. 239-40; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 105; J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 476.

3. Alamgirnama, p. 244-25, 240; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 45-47, J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 476.

4. Alamgirnama, p. 244-25, 240; 236-237; Khafi Khan, vol. II, p. 45-47; Aqil Khan Razi, Maqiyat-i-Alamgiri-36

5. J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 478.

6. Aqil Khan Razi, Maqiyat-i-Alamgiri, p. 37-40, J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 479-486.

commandant of the fort of Allahabad surrendered the fort to the imperialists (11th January, 1659). To give his enemy no time to repose, Aurangzeb sent his son Prince Muhammad to hound him out firstly from the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh and then from Lihar and Bengal. Upon the approach of Prince Muhammad, Shuja retreated from Hathi, reached Bahadurpur, where he made preparations to stand against his pursuers. Prince Sultan Muhammad, who had no boats could not cross the Conges near Bahadurpur. He marched back upstream and forded the river near Allahabad. Passing through Aheri and Kantit he arrived near Chunar. He attacked the fort of Chunar and conquered it. The conquest of the fort of Chunar damped the spirits of Shuja. He immediately fled to Patna where he reached in February 1659¹. In this way the Shujawas driven away from the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh, and the imperialists established their hold on it.

The foregoing account makes it clear that from 1628 to 1659, this region witnessed a series of important political events. Despite the rebellions and local disturbances, on the whole it was a period of peace and stability so far as this region was concerned.

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1. Aqil Khan Raqi, Maqiyat-i-Alamgiri, p. 48, Aqil Mustaid Khan, Maasir-i-Alamgiri (Trans) p. 6-8, J. I. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol I & II, p. 566-67.

CHAPTER, VII

REACTION AND REBELLIONS

(1659 - 1707 A.D.)

After the battle of anugarh, Aurangzeb marched with his forces in company of his brother Murad to deal with his brother Dara Shukoh and see his ailing father Shahjahan. Meanwhile, a change in the political atmosphere at the Mughal court compelled Aurangzeb to capture Agra, imprison his father Shahjahan and dispose off the claims of his brother Murad Bakhsh for the sovereignty of Hindustan. Thereafter, he went through a hurried ceremony of accession at Delhi on 21st July, 1658¹ assuming the title of Abul Muzaffar Nuruddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Badshah Ghazi. Since he had to pursue his rival and enemy Dara and settle scores with him and Shuja, he postponed the customary celebrations and rejoicing. After emerging out victorious in the battles of Khajwa and Deorai, Aurangzeb entered Delhi in a grand procession on 12 May, 1659.² This time the second coronation ceremony took place in the grand palace of Emperor Shahjahan amidst great pomp and

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1. Saqi Mustaid Khan, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Trans), p.4;
 2. Saqi Mustaid Khan, Maasir-i-Alamgiri (Trans), p.12.

splendour. In this way emperor ascended the throne on 15th May, 1659 at an auspicious hour selected by the court astrologers¹.

His accession marks the beginning of new era in the history of the Indian Mughals in general and of Uttar Pradesh in particular. An account of the first half of his reign begins with the personal history of the emperor or with the events with which he was directly connected. Dara was put to death on 30th August, 1659². Shuja was driven away from India by May 1660³, and Murad and Dilerkhan Shukoh were imprisoned. Only Sulaiman Shukoh remained. He was brought to Delhi on 2nd January, 1661⁴ and on 4th December, 1661, Murad was executed. Besides, emperor's son Muhammad Sultan who had joined Shuja returned to Delhi on 8th February, 1660 and was confined in the fort of Agra. It is true that most of these events took place at Delhi, the imperial capital of the Mughal empire but a few of them occurred in Agra also, where the deposed emperor Shahjahan was passing the rest days of his life in surveillance.

1. Saqi Mustaid Khan, Maasir-i-Alamgiri (Trans) p.13.

2. Alamgirnama, p. 432; Saqi Mustaid Khan, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 15-16; Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul-lubab, Vol. II, p. 86, J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, 547; Bernier, p. 102-4;

3. Alamgirnama, p. 561; Saqi Mustaid Khan, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Trans) p. 18; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, op.cit.p.109-10, J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 610-12; Bernier, p. 106.

4. Alamgirnama, p. 148-160; J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, p. 363; Bernier, p. 107; Manucci, Vol. I, p. 382-3.

In the period immediately following the battle of Khajwa, Aurangzeb made certain administrative arrangements to maintain his hold over the region under review. It is true that the Khan Khanan was trying his best to carry out the administration of the region covered by the subah of Allahabad still then there was necessity for a new personnel to gear the administrative machinery. Therefore emperor Aurangzeb appointed Sultan Beg as Siledar of the fort of Allahabad; Mukarram Khan was reinstated as faujdar of Jaunpur; Umar Fararia was put in charge of Kara Manikpur; Kagar Khan was appointed as faujdar of Kara Manikpur and Mir Arab Baghzari was appointed as faujdar of Kara-Ghatampur.

Shortly after, emperor Aurangzeb heard that some of the Muslims were harassing the Brahmins and were trying to remove them from their hereditary offices, which they held in certain temples of Benaras and that there was great discontentment amongst them. Upon this Aurangzeb issued an order on 18th February, 1659-60 to Abul Hasan of Benaras that, "it has been decided according to our cannon law that the old temples should not be demolished and the new temples should not be allowed to be built.. Information has reached this court that certain persons had harassed the Brahmins who have the right of holding charge of the ancient temples, there and that they further desire to remove these Brahmins from their hereditary offices. Therefore our Royal command is that you should direct that in future no person shall in

unlawful ways interfere or disturb the Brahmins and other hindu residents in these places." This order had a desired effect. It may be pointed out that Aurangzeb was a believer in manfi doctrines of sunnism, which did not permit the construction of the new temples and favour the demolition of the old temples.

On 13th November 1659 the emperor marched towards the east to join hands with Khan Khanan Muazzam Khan, who was busy against Prince Shah Shuja. Once again thus the noise of the hoofs of the horses of the emperor was heard by the people of this region and especially by the people of those places through which the imperial forces moved further. On reaching Garhmukteshwar, the emperor spent some time there in hunting. It was in January, 1660 that he resumed his march and proceeded towards Allahabad via Joraon. On the way he received the report of the success of Khan Khanan Muazzam Khan against Shah Shuja. Being satisfied with this report, Aurangzeb decided to return to the capital. Thus he withdrew from Mau Allahabad to Delhi where he arrived on Monday 13th February, 1660.

Incidentally it may be pointed out that during the reign of Shahjahan the region under review never witnessed complete peace and tranquillity because of political and economic reasons. The same holds true with regard to the reign of emperor Aurangzeb. During the war of succession the entire administrative machinery, it seems had

fallen out of gear, thus paving the way for major and minor disturbances in this region. The first to rise in rebellion and create disturbances in this region was Wandram the leader of the Tirowa Jats, inhabiting the region extending from Mathura to Aligarh. He withheld the revenue and defied the imperial authority. Upon this Aurangzeb had to mobilise the imperial forces and reduce him to submission in 1660.¹

The same year the regions round Mathura witnessed a series of disturbances. The district ^{of Mathura} was Dara's Jagir. Dara was very popular here on account of his liberal religious attitude. Before the battle of Samugarh a large number of people joined his standards to support his cause. On his defeat in the foresaid battle his loyal supporters and officials abandoned Mathura. This gave an opportunity to the ruffians and the bandits to loot and plunder the innocent masses and classes alike. No sooner did emperor Aurangzeb learn about it than he sent a new faujdar there to establish law and order and to punish the rebels and recalcitrant elements. The new faujdar took time to establish peace and reestablish the administrative machinery in that region.²

1. Alamgirnama, p. 115; J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, p. 20.

2. J.N. Sarkar, "History of Aurangzeb", Vol. III, p. 21.

During the next five or six years there was complete peace in the region under review. The year 1636 opened with remorse. The old and ailing Shahjahan who had been humbled and humiliated by Aurangzeb and compelled to step down the glittering Peacock throne, was in great pains towards the end of his life. It was reported on 6th January, Shahjahan's illness 1600 that his illness had taken a worse turn and the end of his life was nearer.¹ The malady had grown worse and there was now no remedy for it. All the efforts to cure him having failed, the physicians were now left with no alternative than to pray for his long life. When Aurangzeb learnt about the condition of his father he decided to visit him.² He sent Prince Muazzam in advance on 19th January, 1636,³ while Prince Muazzam was still on the way Shahjahan died on 22nd January 1658 at Agra.⁴ Prince Muazzam received the news of his grand father's death

1. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans), p. 34; J.N. Sarkar, op. cit. p. 139.

2. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans), p. 34.

3. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans), p. 34; J.N. Sarkar, "A collection of Rajasthan letter than the Jaipur State Archives". (Cal. 1963) Rajasthan letter No. 12, p. 19.

4. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans) p.34 Alamgirnama, p. 926-931, Khafi Khan, "Muntakhab-ul-lubab, Vol II, p. 188; J.N. Sarkar, op. cit, p. 140.

in the night of 22nd January while he was only seven ¹ mos from Agra. Next morning he hastened towards Agra to attend the funeral ceremony of the late emperor and express his condolences to the bereaved family. He joined the other members of the royal family in mourning and praying for the peace of the departed soul. Meanwhile, emperor Aurangzeb, after receiving the news of his father's death started from Delhi by boat to Agra on 23rd January, 1657.² On his arrival at Agra he stayed in the mansion of his brother Dara Shukoh and thereafter visited his father's grave. He then visited the fort, made enquiries about the welfare of the royal family, consoled Jagan Mahiba and requested her not to wail and weep for the loss. He stayed in the fort for a few days to make certain administrative arrangements. Since his stay was necessary, he sent for his family from Delhi.³

This, for some time Agra remained the imperial capital of Aurangzeb. The same year the people of Agra witnessed the arrival of Shivaji the Maratha chief, and the leader of the anti-Mughal movement in the Deccan. It may be recalled that Jai Singh's personal failure against Bijapur,

1. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri", p. (Trans), p. 34, Manucci, Vol. II, p. 125-126.

2. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans) p. 35.

3. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri", (Trans) p. 35.

the defection of Netaji in his fear lest Shivaji may join himself with him hands with Aurangzeb of Bijapur and turn against the imperialists, he compelled him to conclude peace with him and persuade him to pay a visit to Agra. Shivaji agreed and on 13th March, 1666, he started with his son Shambhaji five leading officers of his retinue and small escort of three hundred fifty six selected troops to visit the Mughal Emperor at Agra.

He reached Sarai Manikchand, a few miles south of Agra on 14th May, 1666. It had been earlier arranged that Hamwar Khan Singh son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh will proceed from Agra to welcome him on the outskirts of Agra and will conduct him to the imperial capital and will present him before the emperor on the 14th day in the Diwan-i-Am. On 14th May Shivaji was received by Ham Singh's Munshi Girdhari Lal, because he himself was on patrolling duty round the imperial palace. However, ~~as~~ he himself could not proceed to receive the Maratha leader. After finishing his duty, he rushed to escort Shivaji but to his utter surprise Girdhari Lal conducted Shivaji into the city of Agra by another route. Ham Singh returned post haste and met Shivaji in central

1. J.N. Sarkar, "History of Aurangzeb", vol. IV, p. 100.

market of the city. By now it was too late to present Shivaji before the emperor in the Diwan-i-Am. The proceedings were over and the emperor had retired to Diwan-i-Khas to attend to the business there. Ram Singh hurriedly moved with the royal guest, brought him to Diwan-i-Khas and presented him before the emperor through Asad Khan the Deona Sakshi. Shivaji presented one thousand five hundred monars and six thousand rupees as Jazr besides five thousand rupees as 1 nisar. Aurangzeb simply looked at him and said nothing. He conferred the rank of five thousand on him and thereafter he was taken back and was asked to stand in the row of the mansabdars of 5000/5000, which was the third line of the nobles. How this could be tolerated by the Maratha leader. He had come with high hopes. The shabby treatment accorded to him disappointed him. Not familiar with the court etiquette of the Mughals he behaved insolently and created scene expressing his resentment. Aurangzeb was greatly annoyed and he ordered that he should be kept under surveillance. Consequently armed guards were posted round his residence. When he was removed to the house of Madandaz Khan who was famous for his brutality. Later Shivaji was placed in the custody and care of Ram Singh, who on his father's behalf gave a security that the Maratha

1. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans)p. 36; Khafi Khan, "Muntakhab-ul-lubab", Vol II, p. 182-190; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 276; J. N. Sarkar, op. cit.p. 101.

chief would behave properly during the course of his stay at Agra. Both the emperor and Ram Singh took adequate precaution to keep a close watch on the Maratha leader. The latter was virtually a prisoner. The story of escape of Shivaji and his son Shambhaji from the clutches of the emperor is well known and therefore it is needless to repeat it here again. After reaching a village sixty miles off the city of Agra both father and son disguised themselves as lanyasi and rode towards Mathura. At Mathura Shivaji left Shambhaji in charge of Maratha family and asked him to stay there and himself ¹ he proceeded to Allahabad.

He arrived at Allahabad and from here he proceeded to Benaras on his way to Maharashtra. It is said that while he was taking bath in the Ganges he was recognised by some persons. He bribed the Pandits at the Ghat and took to flight. He reached Gaya. He then moved south-west wards and passing through Gondwana and Telingana he reached Raj Garh. Immediately after his arrival at Rajgarh, it seems that he sent one lakh rupees to the Hindu Pandits of Benaras. What for the money was sent and through whom, we do not know. The emperor

1. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans) p. 36-37; Khafi Khan, "Muntakhab-ul-lubab", Vol. II, p. 139; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 276; J.N. Sarkar, op.cit. p. 111; J.N. Sarkar, "Shivaji and His Times", p. 152; for details of Shivaji's visit to Agra and his flight from there see J.N. Sarkar, "Collection of Rajasthan letter from Jaipur State Archives." (Cal 1963) p. 17-61.

received this news on 4th October, 1800. It is related that the Hindu Muslim relations were far from cordial in Benaras about this time. There was apprehension in court circles

Problems in the

Benaras Region.

October 1800

that trouble may erupt at any

time in Benaras and the regions¹

round about it. However no sooner

did the government officials learn about the fact the Hindu pandits had received money from the Deccan and that they were now contemplating to stir up strife, than they decided to be on guard. Muhammad Amin Khan the brother of Sulfiyar was appointed as Faujdar of Benaras. His original rank was increased to 700 mat and 500 awar and 100 awar Do Asna were added to his rank. His appointment did not ease the situation and trouble continued to brew there. At length the emperor ordered him to crush the rebellious elements who were trying to defy the imperial authority or fostering trouble in that quarter. Muhammad Amin once more studied the situation and made enquiries on the spot and then sent a comprehensive report to the emperor. He asked for ten mansabdars from his own biradari, on whom he could rely upon and to whom he could assign important duties for

1. J.N. Sinha, "History of the subah of Allahabad.
(Unpublished Thesis) p. 211-212.

implementing the imperial orders. He also asked for fifteen thousand rupees in cash and heavy guns. The emperor granted his request and ordered him to select any ten mansabdars whom he considered competent to deal with the situation effectively and worthy to assist him in the ensuing campaign. It is related that the Faujdar of Benaras also sanctioned a sum of rupees ten thousand for helping Muhammad Anin Khan. Not only this, Munwar Khan the Subahdar of Allahabad was asked by the emperor to furnish guns and the war material, besides adequate and well equipped army to the aforesaid general. After completing his military preparations and being reinforced Muhammad Anin Khan the Faujdar of Larkar Benaras started his military operations against the Commandars of Benaras, who had been incited by the Pandas of Benaras to rise in rebellion and defy the Imperial authority. Upon the approach of the imperial forces under Muhammad Anin Khan the rebels fled and took shelter in the Khairia areas of the Subah of Allahabad. This matter was reported to the emperor. The latter ordered Munwar Khan, the Subahdar of Allahabad to issue instructions to all the Faujders of the Subah of Allahabad that they should not give asylum to rebels and should hound them out from every nook and corner. In this manner the rebellion was suppressed and peace and order was restored in Benaras and the neighbouring regions.

1. S. N. Sinha, "History of the Subah of Allahabad (Unpublished Thesis) p. 211-12.

In 1667 the Zaminars of Allahabad rose in rebellion. Upon this Muhammad Murad the faujdar of Kara-Manikpur decided to deal with them. He immediately recruited a large army and with the assistance of Bahadur Khan the faujdar of Agra marched to crush the Zaminars. But the recruitment of fresh soldiers very soon created a problem.

REBELLION OF ZAMINDARS

OF

Allahabad

In the absence of requisite money, the salaries to the soldiers could not be paid in time. Consequently, the soldiers

seized and killed the Diwan of the faujdar of Kara Manikpur and joined hands with the rebel Zaminars. No sooner did the emperor learn about it than he ordered Bahadur Khan the Subedar of Allahabad to enquire into the whole affair and punish the offenders. Muhammad Murad the faujdar of Kara Manikpur was transferred and his place was taken by Sayyid Ali on 15th July 1667. Thereafter the imperial forces were mobilised against the rebellious Zaminars and they were suppressed.¹

This was followed by another interesting incident in the same region. Uhtisham Khan, the faujdar of Sihonda

THE HIGH HANDEDNESS OF

THE FAUJDAR OF SIHONDA :

SARKAR KALINJAR.

in the Sarkar Kalinjar attacked a village in the pargana Shalipur and plundered it. A complaint was made to this effect by the

1. Akhbarat, 10th year, Vol XIX pp.27, Cf. Mr. S.N. Sinha, "The History of Subah of Allahabad", p. 222.

peasants of the aforesaid village. The faujdar was charged with high handedness and vindictive. On 7th July Abul Jabi was ordered to investigate the matter and take suitable action against the aforesaid faujdar.¹

Elsewhere in other parts of the extensive region of Uttar Pradesh the situation was no better after 1668. The reasons are not difficult to seek. It has been mentioned by the historians that the trouble which assumed alarming proportions in the South western region of Uttar Pradesh and in the region round Mathura and other parts of Uttar Pradesh was mainly due to Aureangzeb's religious policy. But this is not true. If we ~~xxx~~ critically examine the nature of the races inhabiting those regions which developed into centres of rebellions it appears that to defy authority was in their nature from the very beginning. The Jats as peasants entered

THE JAT REBELLION

Mathura and Agra districts in 1600.

And within a period of less than sixty years, they established their control over the highway leading from Delhi to Agra and Dholpur and passing through Malwa and Gujarat to the Deccan. They enjoyed the habit of looting and plundering, defying the imperial authority and coercing the weak. Their activities posed a new threat to

1. Ibid, p. 217.

the imperial government. It has earlier been related that shortly after Aurangzeb's accession to the throne Jandram rose in rebellion and his rebellion was suppressed by the imperial forces with a high hand. During the next eight years the Jats created no trouble in the Mathura region. In 1669 the Jats, who had been bad tax payers rebelled under the leadership of Gokula, the Zamindar of Tilpat and plundered several villages. Why the Jats rose in rebellion in 1669 needs re-examination. It is true that it was in the character of the Jats to behave insolently, defy the imperial authority, to loot and plunder but so long as they were not provoked they always remained quiet. In 1669 it was Abdu Nabi the local faujdar, who provoked them to rise in arms. He behaved indiscreetly in Mathura. He carried on the policy of destruction of temples and demolition of idols. He removed the carved railing of the temple of Keshav Rai, which had been presented by Dara. Besides, he abducted the girls to satisfy his lust. It were these circumstances which gave an opportunity to the Jats to rebel. The Jats killed Abdu Nabi in an encounter and spread disorder throughout the Agra¹ and Mathura districts.

1. Alamgirnama, Vol II. p. 573; Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans), p. 53; Khafi Khan, "Muntakhab-ul-lubab" Vol. II, p. 395-400; J.N. Sarkar, "History of Aurangzeb", Vol. III, p. 391; Grose, "Mathura", p. 35.

The emperor appointed Adandaz Khan to punish the rebels near Agra and Saif Chikan Khan was appointed faujdar of Mathura vice Abdul K Nabi and Diler Khan, Brahm Deo Misodia and others were appointed to accompany Saif Chikan Khan to suppress the rebellion of the Jats in Mathura. On 28th November 1659¹ the emperor himself started with a large army to supervise the military operations against the Jats. The imperial tents were pitched on the bank of Yamuna and the army set out towards Agra. On 4th December while riding out for hunt he learnt about the rebellion in the villages of Hware, Chandrakha and Arkhud. He ordered Hasan Ali Khan to attack the rebels. Hasan Ali Khan marched with an army^{and} attacked the rebels. The latter fought the imperialists with bows and muskets. Not being able to resist them for long, the rebels collected their women performed the rites of Jauhar and then rushed to fight from close quarters. In this battle the rebels killed many of the companions of Hasan Ali Khan. Despite this heavy loss of lives², Hasan Ali Khan defeated the rebels and put them to flight. He siezed 250 males and females and made them captive. Thereafter, he returned to join the emperor. A little later Saif Chikan Khan the faujdar

1. Saqi Mustaid Khan, 'Maasir-i-Alamgiri', (Trans), p. 57.

2. Saqi Mustaid Khan, 'Maasir-i-Alamgiri', (Trans) p. 58; J.N. Sarkar, 'History of Aurangzeb', Vol. III, p. 295.

of Mathura arrived. The Emperor ordered him to appoint two hundred horsemen from among his servants to guard the crops of the villages and prevent the soldiers from oppressing any one or taking any child prisoner.¹ Shortly after Hasan Ali Khan was appointed faujdar of Mathura vice Naif Ahikan Khan. His rank was raised to 3500/2000 and was honoured with a robe of honour, a sword and a horse.² While the Emperor stayed in Agra, Hasan Ali Khan began his military operations against Gokula Jat. After grue-some fighting which lasted for nearly a year, Hasan Ali Khan was able to suppress the Jat uprising. He stormed the fort of Tilpat in December. Gokula was made prisoner. Hasan Ali Khan then sent him to the emperor. "By imperial order, his limbs were hacked off one after another in the Chabutra of the Kotwali. His son and daughter were made over to Jawahir Khan, nazir, for being brought up as Muslims. The daughter was married to Shah Wali Chelahan an intimate servant of high rank. The son became a memoriser of the Quran with the name Fazil. . . ." About the same time large number of mud forts of the Jats were demolished. It was on this occasion that the famous temple of Keshav Mai was also demolished. After the destruction of the temple the richly jewelled idols were taken from Mathura to Agra and buried

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1. Saqi Mustaid Khan, 'Maasir-i-Alamgiri' (Trans) p. 57-58.
 2. Saqi Mustaid Khan, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 57-58.
 3. Saqi Mustaid Khan, Maasir-i-Alamgiri (Trans) p. 58.

under the steps of the mosque of Begam Lahiba. The name of¹
Mathura was changed to Islamabad.

Three years after, trouble started in Jarnaul and its neighbouring areas. Here the Jatnamis rose in rebellion. The Jatnamis were peaceful religious brotherhood. The Jatnami² sect was founded in 1543 by Birbhan of Bijesar near Jarnol. It was an off shoot of the Rai Basis. The people nicknamed them as Mundiyas, because they used to shave off all hair from³ their heads. This sect spread over all the neighbouring regions. The followers of this sect were mainly engaged in agriculture. As regards their religious practices they were abominable. According to contemporary historian Ishwar Das Nagar,
THE JATNAMI "The Jatnamis are extremely filthy and
REBELLION wicked. In their rules they make no
 distinction between Hindus and Musal-
mans, and eat pigs and other unclean animals. If a dog is

1. Saqi Mustad Khan the author of Maasir-i-Alamgiri mentions, "During this month of Ramzan, abounding in miracles, the Emperor was the promoter of justice and overthrower of mischief, as a knower of truth and destroyer of oppression, as the zephyr of the garden of victory and the reviver of the faith of the Prophet, issued orders for the demolition of the temple situated in Mathura, famous as Dehra of Kesho Rai. In a short time by the great exertions of his officers, the destruction of this strong foundation of infidelity was accomplished and on its site a lofty mosque was built at the expenditure of large sum. . . .
"Maasir-i-Alamgiri (Trans) p. 60.

2. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, p. 297; according to Prof. Irfan Habib, this sect was founded in 1637 by a native of Jarnaul. See, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 342.

3. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, p. 297.

served up before them, they do not show any disgust at it. In sin and immorality they see no blame.¹ Whatever might have been ^{their} habits, they were honest and peace loving. Khafi Khan affirms it and says, "that though they dress like fagirs, most of them follow agriculture or trade on small capital. Following the path of their own faith they wish to live with good name and never attempt to obtain money by an dishonest or unlawful means. If any one tries to oppress them, they can not endure it. Most of them carry arms". In fact the rebellion began as rural affray. One day a Jatnami cultivator near Narnol had a hot dispute with a foot soldier (piada) who was watching the field and the soldier broke the peasant's head with his thick stick. Thereafter a number of Jatnamis beat the assailant till he seemed to be dead. On receiving the news about this affair, the chikdar sent his men to bring them, but the Jatnamis assembled in large numbers attacked the Chikdar's men and beat them mercilessly and seized their arms. Within no time hundreds of Jatnamis

1. Ishwar Dass, Putuhat-i-Alamsiri, p. 610, Cf. J. J. Markar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, p. 297-8.

2. Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol. II, p. 232-4; J. J. Markar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, p. 297-98; According to Prof. Irfan Habib, "The Jatnami belief, as stated in sect's scriptures centred round an unalloyed monotheism. Ritual and superstitious were alike condemned. There was also a definite social aspect of this message. Caste distinctions within the community of believers were forbidden; so also living on charity of others. An attitude of sympathy with the poor and hostility towards the authority and wealth is apparent from such commandments as following, "Do not harass the poor..... shun the company of unjust king and a wealthy and dishonest men; do not accept a gift from these or kings." See, Agrarian system of Mughal India, p. 342.

gathered and assumed defiant attitude. The quarrel soon assumed religious colour and a holy war against the government was declared. An old prophetess appeared amongst them and declared that her spell could raise a large army in the night and that the Satnamis fighting under her banner would be victorious against enemy and that if one of them fell eighty others would spring up to take his place. This offered encouragement and within no time five thousand Satnamis rose in arms. The movement spread like a wild fire. The administration was taken by surprise. As regards the imperial officers, they underrated the danger and the strength of the Satnamis. They sent troops against them and the latter defeated them successfully. The initial successes of the Satnamis against the imperial troops increased their confidence and boosted up their morale. They plundered many villages in the district and at length when the faujdar of Barnol Tahir Khan came out to suppress them. They defeated him with heavy losses and captured and occupied the town,¹ The rebellion of the Satnamis now assumed threatening proportion. The Satnamis plundered Barnol, demolished its mosques, "established their own administration in the district, holding it by means of out posts and collecting the revenue from the peasants."

1. J. N. Sarkar, "History of Aurangzeb", Vol. III, p.299, Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Measir-i-Alamgiri" p. 71.

Their example was followed by the zamindars of the neighbouring areas and the rajputs, who also seized the opportunity and refused to pay revenue to the government. Thereafter, the Jatnamis marched to Bairat, Inghana and looted the villages and created havoc upto a distance of thirty two to thirty four miles from Delhi.¹

So great was the effect of their rebellious activities that grain supply to Delhi became scanty and "the citizens were greatly alarmed and distracted." Under these circumstances Aurangzeb was compelled to send a large army of 10,000 soldiers under Nadandaz Khan and many high officers with artillery to suppress the rebellion of the Jatnamis and Hindu zamindars.² The Jatnamis fought stubbornly but were ultimately defeated. Two thousand of the Jatnamis fell on the field while many more were slain during the course of the pursuit. Very few of them escaped. Thus within a short time the rebellion of the Jatnamis was suppressed and peace was restored in Narnol and its neighbouring areas.³

1. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, p. 300.

2. Saqi Mustaid Khan, Maasir-i-Alamgiri (Trans), p. 71; J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, p. 300-1;

3. The Jatnamis went down fighting bravely. Saqi Mustaid Khan the author of Maasir-i-Alamgiri mentions that, "when the imperial troops reached the place the enemy resolving to fight advanced in spite of their lack of war materials, they acted in the battle described in old Hindu books called in Hindu tongue Mahabharat." See, Maasir-i-Alamgiri (Trans) p. 71; Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 344.

While commenting upon the nature of Satnami rebellion, Dr. Irfan Habib is of the opinion that it was "plebeian" in its character. To substantiate his view point he has quoted Saqi Mustaid Khan, who writes, "Those who observe the wondrous works of Heaven have ~~been~~ been filled with astonishment at the occurrences of this affair in which a rebellious horde of low people like gold smiths, carpenters, scavengers, tanners and members of other menial professions who are naturally weak and foredoomed to slaughter, took I know not what into their heads so that they were filled with a spirit of obstinate self will, as if in their rebellious pride they felt their heads to be intolerable burden on their shoulders and wilfully walked into the trap of their destruction!"

In the early years of his reign Aurangzeb had also to deal with a series of local uprisings in the Gangetic Doab, a very important and fertile region of Uttar Pradesh. Here the Rajputs had not given up their defiant attitude owing to the imperial policy of planting Afghan colonies in this region. Following the example of his father Shahjahan, emperor

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1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 344.
 2. Saqi Mustaid Khan, Masir-i-Alamgiri, p. 71
 3. Muhammad Azim the author of Alamgirnama mentions that the territory of Moradabad was Mortalab. See, Alamgirnama, Vol. II, p. 539; Cf. Iqbal Husain, "Some Afghan Settlements in Gangetic Doab" (Unpublished Paper, read in the Indian History Congress 1969).

Aurangzeb too invited the Afridi Afghans and allowed them to settle down in the north of Thanah Bhawan to control the rebellious Rajputs.¹ In 1677 the turbulent and warlike Pandes of Angnai Khera in the Hardoi district robbed and plundered the royal treasure.² Upon this Aurangzeb deputed Diler Khan³ to suppress and punish them. Diler Khan's successful military operations against the rebels pleased the emperor so much that he conceded his request that he should be granted thirty seven villages including Angnai Khera as altamgha. Diler Khan laid the foundation of several Afghan colonies in the town of Shahabad.⁴ He also granted land to his clansmen in the villages. To Azmat-ull-ah Khan a Bagarzai Afghan he granted land in the maspa of Shahabad and allowed him to settle down there.⁵

After the death of Diler Khan Aurangzeb confirmed the madad-i-maash grant of six lakhs dams to his son Kamaluddin Khan through a firman in 1686. Kamaluddin Khan held the rank of 2500/1000 and served the imperial army like his father.⁶ Aurangzeb assigned twenty six villages more to him

1. Muzaffarnagar, District Gazetteer, 1903, p. 92; Cf. Iqbal Husain, op.cit.

2. Iqbal Husain, op.cit; Hardoi, District Gazetteer, 1923, p. 138.

3. Hardoi District Gazetteer, p. 138.

4. Iqbal Husain, op.cit.

5. Maasir-i-Alangiri (Trans) p. 145.

6. Ibid. p. 161.

as a result of dispute arising between the faujdar of Barakar Ahairabad on revenue matters and made it a revenue free grant by a firman dated 22nd ¹ hawal 1096 A.H. Like his father Kamaluddin also gave land to his clansmen and allowed them to settle in these villages.

About this time the third son of Diler Khan also settled down with his family in newly founded town Basit-nagar. About 19 miles west of Shahjahanpur, another Afghan colony was established by Mir Miran, a Kamalzai Afghan. The name of this town was Miranpur Katra. In this way Aurangzeb tried to maintain his hold over the recalcitrant Hindu amandars of the Gangetic Doab and his policy like the policy of his predecessor proved successful.

After Champat Rai Bundela, his son Chatrasal Bundela assumed the leadership of the Bundelas and became powerful in Bundelkhand where he established his position. About 1674 he attacked the Gond amindar of Ajaigarh, defeated him and occupied the fort of Ajaigarh. Later the foresaid amindar was given another jagir and was thus pacified. The Bundela Chief Chatrasal made Panna his capital, while Mau

<u>ACTIVITIES OF THE</u>	continued to remain the military
<u>BUNDELAS U.P.</u>	head quarter. For nearly three
	years, from 1674 to 1677 the south

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1. Iqbal Husain, op.cit.
 2. Ibid.

eastern territories of Uttar Pradesh remained in the hands of the Bundelas. Their increasing power and influence in this region posed a threat to the imperial government. Taking stock of the situation the Emperor appointed Munawwar Khan as the faujdar of Mahoba to curb the rising power of Chatrasal ¹ Bundela. But Munawwar Khan could not suppress the Bundelas. The latter became very active on the borders of Larkar Kalinjar. It is related that the imperial forces advanced and overtook the Bundelas in the dense forest of Kariya near Banda. The rebels were driven away and compelled to confine their activities in Bundelkhand.

In 1675 fresh administrative arrangements were made in the region under review. Husain Beg Khan was appointed faujdar of ²Jaunpur. Inayat Khan was appointed ³faujdar of ⁴Khairabad, Jandar Khan was appointed Subehdar of Oudh vice Saadat Khan. Himmat Khan was appointed Subehdar of Allahabad vice Hasan Ali Khan. Sultan Ali Khan was appointed faujdar of Mathura vice Mubrez Khan Mir Kul.

Muhtashim Khan was appointed faujdar of Baharanpur. Hasan

CHANGE IN ADMINISTRATIVE

Alli Khan was appointed

PERSONNEL

Subehdar of Agra. After some

IN THE REGION OF U.P.

time Muhtashim Khan was

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1. Dr. Bhagwan Das Gupta, "Maharaja Chatrasal Bundela", p. 47.
 2. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans) p.87.
 3. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans).p.87.
 4. Ibid, p. 88.

transferred to Hewat from aharanpur and Kamyab Khan was appointed faujdar of aharanpur. In 1678 Ahidmatgar Khan Ahazawar Khan was appointed faujdar of Kannauj and Abdul Muhammad Khan Bijapuri was appointed faujdar of Oudh. Thus, by making fresh appointments and transfers Aurangzeb took every precaution to control the fissiparous tendencies in this region.

Despite these administrative steps, the south eastern Uttar Pradesh remained exposed to the Bundela inroads. The repeated Bundela invasions on the south eastern region not only exposed the weaknesses of the Mughal administration in that quarter but had withered the normal life. The activities of the Bundelas had reduced the people of this region to sorry plight and had completely ruined them. In 1679 Aurangzeb ordered Himmat Khan the Subehdar of Allahabad to march against the Bundelas. Himmat Khan took the field, opened military operations against the Bundelas and compelled them to lay down their arms for the time being. Chamtrasal Bundela submitted and joined the imperial service. Next year he deserted the Mughals and resumed his military activities.

THE BUNDELA ACTIVITIES

IN SOUTH EASTERN U.P.

He entered Barkar Kalinjar and created disturbances there.

Upon this Abdus Samad the faujdar of Shahdipur marched with his army and attacked the Bundelas. In the battle which followed Angad the brother of

Chatrasal was killed and the other Bundelas took to flight.¹
Thereafter, the entire south eastern Uttar Pradesh was
cleared off the recalcitrant Bundelas.

In 1680 Iftikhar Khan was appointed as faujdar of
Jaunpur vice Anujaat Khan and Multafat Khan was appointed²
as faujdar of Chasipur Samania.³ Next year Multafat Khan was⁴
transferred to Agra. About the same time Tarbiyat Khan was⁵
appointed the faujdar of Jaunpur vice Iftikhar Khan and⁶
Afrasiyab Khan was appointed faujdar of Moradabad.

In 1681-82 Chatrasal again joined the imperial⁷
service. He was assigned Mohla in pargana Dhamoni in jagir.
Throughout the year 1681 therefore there was no trouble in
south eastern Uttar Pradesh. This region remained free from
Bundela depredations and it enjoyed complete peace. But in
1682 Chatrasal left the imperial service and returned to
Bundelkhand to resume his rebellious activities. This time
he made Mahoba the target of his activities. He marched

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1. Dr. Bhagwan Dass Gupta, "Maharaja Chatrasal Bundela", p. 51.
 2. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri". (Trans) p. 119;
 3. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri", p. 119.
 4. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri", (Trans) p. 129.
 5. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans), p. 129.
 6. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans), p. 129.
 7. Dr. Bhagwan Dass Gupta, "Chatrasal Bundela", p. 54.

with his followers to Mahoba, expelled the imperial amil from there and compelled him to take shelter in the fort of Mahoba.¹ Encouraged by their success, the Bundelas proceeded towards Sihonda. Murad Khan the faujdar of Sihonda came out of the fort to drive away the rebels but was defeated and killed. Thereafter, the Bundelas plundered Sihonda and the neighbouring regions and occupied Mahoba, Mandha and Sihonda. They also strengthened their position in this region. Under their protection and following their example the Zamindars of this region also adopted defiant attitude. The Bundelas also captured the octroi outposts, expelled the imperial officers from there and established their hold over not only south western but south eastern regions of Uttar Pradesh. arkar Kalinjar passed into their hands completely.² By May 1682 it was reported to Emperor Aurangzeb that despite the ~~the~~ deployment of a large army not a single dam could be realised from some of the areas of arkar Kalinjar.³

In July 1682 Chatrasal laid his hands on a few

1. Ibid.

2. Dr. Bhagwan Dass Gupta, op, cit, p. 67.

3. S.N. Sinha, "History of subah of Allahabad
(~~University~~ Unpublished Thesis) p. 314-315.

Gasbas near Jarkar Kalinjar. It was a clear indication that he wanted to occupy not only Jarkar Kalinjar but also the neighbouring areas. Muhammad Afzal the Giladar of Kalinjar marched with his army to check the activities of the Bundelas and foil the plans of their leader Chatrasal. He fell upon the Bundelas and killed three of their leaders. Thereafter, he drove away the Bundelas from the neighbouring regions of Jarkar Kalinjar and established the imperial hold over them. Once again the imperial authority was strengthened in this region with the result that during the next seven or eight years the Bundelas could not dare to enter the Mughal territory to carry on their nefarious activities.

Besides, the south eastern region of Uttar Pradesh, the Bundelas were also very active in Math, Panwari, Namirpur, Iraj and Dnamoni. Thus it can be inferred that the Mughal position was very weak in south western Uttar Pradesh. Instead of concentrating his attention on this part of Uttar Pradesh, Aurangzeb turned his attention more towards Jarkar Kalinjar, where the activities of the Bundelas caused him great anxiety. While he was busy in the Deccan, the Bundelas seized the opportunity took possession of Kalinjar and appointed there ¹ Mandata Chaube as Giladar. The Bundelas thereafter made Kalinjar as the base of military operations against the Mughals.

1. Dr. Bhagwan Dass Gupta, "Chatrasal Bundela", p.60.

In 1700 Basant Pratap a notorious samindar of Ahamdabad-Ghosa joined hands with Chatrasal Bundela and thus both of them continued to create trouble in the south eastern and eastern region of Uttar Pradesh. At length, the Emperor ordered Muhammad Beg to chastise the rebels with the help of Ibrahim Khan the subedar of Allahabad. About the same time the emperor ordered Khairandesh Khan to deal with the Bundelas at Kalinjar. Accordingly Khairandesh Khan attacked Kalinjar in order to make the family of Chatrasal captive and take possession of the fort of Kalinjar from the hands of Bundelas. On the approach of the Mughal commander the Bundelas defended the fort bravely and defeated him and compelled him to retreat. A little later he was removed from the fauindari of Etawah and he was appointed fauidar of ¹ Dhamoni.

Being aware of their weak position in the south eastern and western Uttar Pradesh, it was decided by the Mughals to enter into a settlement with the Bundelas. Upon the suggestion of Firuz Jung, the emperor honoured Chatrasal, gave him the rank of four thousand and asked him to visit him in the Deccan. Chatrasal arrived in the Deccan and

1. Ibid, p. 62-63.

remained with the Mughal Emperor until latter's death in 1707. As a result of the agreement which was made with the bundelas in 1705, peace prevailed in the aforesaid region¹ during the next two years of Aurangzeb's reign.

Perhaps drawing inspiration from the Bundelas and finding that the Emperor was greatly involved in the Deccan, the Jats under the leadership of Raja Ram assumed defiant and rebellious attitude. They began to raid the imperial highway and carry on their depredations to the suburbs of Agra. It seems that these Jats had forgotten about the fate of Gokula Jat. However, "by 1668 a generation of young Jat young men

THE JAT REBELLION

1686-1707

had arisen who had not tasted the sword of Hassan Ali Khan."² Raja

Ram's lawless activities could not be checked by Safi Khan the governor of Agra. The rebellious Jat bands intercepted the travellers, closed the roads to traffic and led by Raja Ram moved towards Sikandara to rob Akbar's tomb of its costly decorations.³ Raja Ram then looted Aghar Khan and killed him and his son-in-law with eighty of their followers.⁴ In May 1686 the emperor realised the gravity of the situation sent Khan-i-Jahan Kokaltash Laffar Jung to

1. J.N. Sarkar, "History of Aurangzeb", Vol. III, p. 399; Dr. Bhagwan Dass Gupta, op. cit. p.63.

2. J.N. Sarkar, "History of Aurangzeb", Vol V, p. 297.

3. Ibid, p. 297.

4. J.N. Sarkar, "History of Aurangzeb", Vol. V.p. 298.

suppress the Jats and punish Raja Ram. Khan-i-Jahan failed¹ to get any success against the Jats. Upon this the emperor directed Prince Bedar Bakht in December 1687 to assume supreme² command of the imperial forces and march against the Jats. But before the prince could arrive and open the offensive against the Jats the latter committed more atrocities. Early in 1688 while Mir Ibrahim was marching to assume the governorship of the Punjab, he halted near Likandara and encamped on the Bank of Jamuna. Raja Ram came and attacked him but was repulsed with heavy losses. A little later Raja Ram again returned with his men. He plundered Akbar's tomb, taking away its carpets, gold and silver vessels, lamps etc. and damaged the building. Khan-i-Jahan could not do anything to check him. Shortly after Prince Bedar Bakht arrived with his army. He opened his offensive against Raja Ram, who was shot dead by a Mughal musketeer on 4th July, 1688.³

Next year, Bishan Singh was appointed faujdar of⁴ of Mathura and orders were given to him to suppress the Jats.

1. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans), p. 89.

2. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans) p. 189; Khafi Khan, "Muntakhab-ul-Jubab", pp. 316, 395, J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 298.

3. J. N. Sarkar, "History of Aurangzeb", Vol. V, p. 299; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 320, Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans) p. 189.

4. Saqi Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans) p. 205; J. N. Sarkar, "History of Aurangzeb" Vol. V, p. 300-303.

As a result of continuous military operations against the Jats in the forthcoming years the latter could not create any trouble in the western region of Uttar Pradesh.

From 1684 to the end of Aurangzeb's reign in 1707 the eastern Uttar Pradesh remained a scene of political unrest and activities. In 1684¹ Muhammad Sharif was appointed faujdar of Chunar vice Mir Najib, the nephew of Saif Khan. But on Saturday 29th November 1684 the emperor was informed that Muhammad Sharif Khan had reached Chunar. Till Saturday 3rd October Mir Najib waited for the arrival of Muhammad Sharif and then assigned the thanadari of the some portion of the Jarkar Chunar to Abdul Aziz after taking Rs.1800 as bribe from him. Abdul Aziz had close associations with the zamindars of this area, therefore he did not take any step to curb their activities. The zamindars thus continued to plunder the people and exact illegal taxes from them. At length, when the emperor learnt about it, he ordered Muntashim Khan the Subehdar of Allahabad to punish the rebels. The CHUNAR latter removed Abdul Aziz from his office, demolished the mud forts of the rebellious zamindars and restored peace and order in Jarkar Chunar.²

1. Akhbarat, (Royal Asiatic society collection) 47th R. yr. , Cf. B.N. Sinha, "History of subah of Allahabad", (Unpublished Thesis), p. 253.

2. Akhbarat (Jaipur Archives Collection) 28 yr , Cf. B.N. Sinha, "History of subah of Allahabad." (Unpublished Thesis) p. 296.

The same year Dadu the Amindar of Khairagarh and Janpat, who had earlier been expelled from there returned to create trouble in Khairagarh. They began realising the

revenue from the peasantry of Khairagarh and the neighbouring parganas.

Not only this, they also drove away the Imperial officers from there and stationed their own followers in their places. When Muhtashim Khan learnt about it he ordered the faujdar of Khairagarh to punish the rebels and restore law and order in his area. Despite emperor's repeated warnings and threats of punishment Abdus Samad the faujdar of Khairagarh failed to restore peace and order there.

Arail : The same year Pratap a Amindar of Arail also began his rebellious activities. Consequently, Muhtashim Khan the Subehdar of Allahabad, proceeded in person to crush him.

Benaras : In March 1685 similar uprising of the local Amindar took place in Benaras. Here the Amindar Ajeeb Singh rose in rebellion. He was hotly pursued by Abdul Gaffur and expelled from Benaras. Peace was however established within no time.

1. Ka Khairagarh is a pargana in Jarkar of Allahabad, 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 172.

2. Akhbarat (Jaipur Archives collection) 28th yr. S.N.Sinha, op.cit. p.320.

3. Ibid.

4. Akhbarat (Jaipur Archives collection) 28th year) XXXII, p. 156 yr. Cf. S.N.Sinha, op.cit, p. 229.

Ghazipur : In 1694 an Afghan named Muhammad Baji raised the banner of rebellion in Ghazipur. On 1st July 1694 the emperor received complaints from the public and officers of Ghazipur about the activities of foresaid Afghan that he was plundering the peasantry. Upon this the emperor¹ ordered the local faujdar Muhammad Nafi to punish the rebel.

Zamaniya : Shaikh Muhammad Ghani the son of Haji Hussain the faujdar of Ghazipur Zamaniya died in 1699. The Zamindars of the area who had grown powerful now rose in rebellion. They attacked the house of Shaikh Muhammad Ghani looted and plundered it. Atiqullah who was present there immediately² controlled the situation and restored peace and order there.

Ahamdabad Ghosa : About 1700 Basant Pratap a notorious rebel of Larkar Ahamdabad-Ghosa in the Subah of Allahabad rose in rebellion and created disturbances. On 1st August 1700 the emperor sent Muhammad Beg to deal with him. He also instructed Ibrahim the Subehdar of Allahabad and other faujders of the area to suppress the rebel. The rebel was accordingly³ chastised.

Jaunpur : Muhabbat a Zamindar of Jaunpur rose in rebellion in 1703. The faujdar of Jaunpur failed to suppress the rebellion and consequently the emperor asked Lipahdar Khan

1. Akhbarat (Royal Asiatic society collection) 38th year p. 331, Cf, S.N. Sinha, op. cit., p. 229.

2. Akhbarat (Royal Asiatic society collection) 8th years; Cf. S.N. Sinha, op. cit, p. 230.

3. Akhbarat (Royal Asiatic society collection) 8th Year p. 128, Cf. S.N. Sinha, op.cit. p.230.

the Subedar of Allahabad to deal with the situation and suppress the rebel. Asaphdar Khan demanded the faujdari of Jaunpur. The emperor assigned to him the faujdari of Jaunpur. Thereafter, he took advantage of the coolness between Muhabat Khan and Ikram the Amindar of Nizamabad. With the assistance of the latter, he suppressed the rebellion of the aforesaid Amindar. While Asaphdar Khan was still busy in suppressing the rebellion in Jaunpur, Aurangzeb died in the Deccan in 1707.¹

With the death of Emperor Aurangzeb came to a close another chapter of the history of this region. For about forty eight years, this region was constantly a victim of minor and major rebellions. From 1659 to 1707, the year in which Aurangzeb died, there was no peace in this region. It is true, that these rebellions were suppressed with a high hand but this did not prevent the rebels to rise again and again. The eastern, south eastern and the western regions always remained in the grips of rebellion of either the local Hindu chiefs or Amindars. The number of rebellions increased during Aurangzeb's absence from northern India and his involvement in the Deccan. It is related that on 15th June, 1704 Aurangzeb ordered that a map of the Subah of Allahabad be prepared, showing the centres of rebel Amindars and the area of their activity. It is however difficult to say,

1. Asaf Mustaid Khan, "Maasir-i-Alamgiri" (Trans)
p. 286-287.

as to what he did thereafter to combat the situation.

It seems that the concentration of the Mughal forces on the Deccan front and emperor's preoccupation with the Deccan problem vis a vis his activities against the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda and then against the Marathas, gave time and opportunity to the Jats and ~~the~~ Bundelas to loot and plunder the flourishing region of Uttar Pradesh. The increasing expenditure on the costly wars the Mughals waged in the Deccan, must have compelled the emperor to demand more and more from the nobles. And the nobles, in turn must have demanded more and more from the zamindars. At length a stage arrived for the latter to refuse the payment and when they were threatened and coerced, they were left with no other alternative than to adopt defiant attitude and rebel openly. This explains the cause of the rebellions of the zamindars in the different regions, especially in the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh.

20.2 ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECT.

CHAPTER VIII

SOME ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS.

We have very little information about the administration of this region during the Turko-Afghan period. It is rather difficult to say anything about different units of administration in existence during this period. However, Baber mentions about the sarkars of Miyan Jamb, Agra, Malp, Sihonua, Kannauj, Ambhal, Luknour, Khairabad, Oudh, Sahraich, Jaunpur, Barwar etc. in his "Memoirs." Since he does not mention about any higher unit of administration than sarkar it may be inferred that sarkar was the highest unit of administration, into which this entire region was divided in the earlier period. Below the sarkars, the parganas were the next unit of administration. In 'Memoirs' there are several references about the parganas. And in every pargana there were large number of villages. Thus, village was the lowest unit of administration. So far as these units of administration were concerned Baber adopted them. He appointed his own nobles and the Afghans as well to carry on the administration. So far as important places like Ambhal, Jaunpur, Kannauj, Etawah were concerned, in these places he appointed his own officers. There are large number of

1. Baber Nama (Trans), Vol. II, p. 520; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 526-27; P. Saran, Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 45-47.

references in his 'Memoirs' not only about the appointments but also with regard to the transfer of officials from one place to another.¹

The officials whom Baber appointed were purely military leaders, required to deal with the insurgents bring them to obedience and to maintain law and order and to help in the conquest of fresh territories. The appointment of Hindu Beg at Jambhal,² Muhammad Junaid Barlas at Jaunpur,³ Mahdi Khwaja at Etawah was to the same effect. Besides, there were large number of Afghans and non-Afghans, whom Baber has designated wajahdars, who were given jagirs in different parts of Uttar Pradesh or a part of revenue from a particular sarkar or pargana, to maintain themselves or their soldiers or to realise the revenue for the imperial government. These wajahdars were required to maintain law and order also. Besides, the officials of a sarkar and pargana, there were a large number of local chiefs and zamindars to carry on the administration. Such was the administrative pattern in this region from 1526-30 during Baber's reign.

Humayun had no time to introduce any change in the existing administrative machinery as he always remained busy

1. Baber Nama (Trans) Vol. II, p. 529; 542, 544; 637, 540, 530; P. Saran, op. cit. p. 47.

2. Baber Nama (Trans) Vol. II, p. 689.

3. Baber Nama (Trans) Vol. II, p. 637.

4. Baber Nama (Trans) Vol. II, p. 539.

with his own problems. It was under Sher Shah, that we ~~have~~ hear of change in administrative pattern. The arkar, pargana and village were retained as units of administration no doubt but in the first two units of administration a set of new officials were introduced to impart efficiency and protect the interest of the people and the state. In village administration no change was introduced. It remained as it was in the previous period.

It was during the reign of Akbar that a concerted effort was made for the first time to organise the fiscal and administrative units on proper basis in accordance with a well defined and systematic plan. The past history of the region under review, which was mainly a record of persistent turmoil, political instability, and confusion caused by the frequent out break of rebellions, the common political and cultural ideas and the affinity in customs, manners and traditions of the people visa vis other factors like nature of the soil, climate etc. must have been the basis of the establishment of the new administration and fiscal units. Akbar must have foreseen the difficulties of administering the region under review and therefore he divided it into four different zones or provinces (subahs) Delhi, ¹agra, Oudh and Allahabad in 1580. Each subah was divided into

1. Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 129; A.I. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 412; P. Saran, op. cit., p. 63; T.N. Day, The Mughal Government, p. 67-68.

a number of sarkars, and each sarkar was divided into a number of parganas and mahals.¹

Akbar defined the boundaries of each administrative and fiscal unit. A mention has already been made elsewhere about the boundaries of the subahs of Delhi, Agra, Oudh and Allahabad and the portions of the subah of Delhi and Agra which are now outside Uttar Pradesh.² Again it may be pointed out that transference of sarkars from subah to other was a constant feature and usual practice in the period under review. And therefore the boundaries of a subah never could remain almost the same. For example the sarkar of Jaunpur was transferred from the subah of Allahabad to Bihar, and the sarkars of Tijara and Warnaul were transferred from the subah of Agra to the subah of Delhi during the reign of Shahjahan.³ In the subah of Allahabad in 1595 the number of sarkars were ten and by 1635 their number rose to sixteen. Likewise in 1595 the number of parganas in this subah was 177 and in 1695 it became 247. In the subah of Agra the number of sarkar in 1595 was 13 and in 1695 it became 14 and the

1. Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 95; P. Saran, op.cit. p. 75; J.N. Day, op.cit. p. 70.

2. And the sarkar of Rewari, Hissar Firoza and Faridkot are now out of Uttar Pradesh. Ain (Trans), Vol. II, p. 97, III, As in the subah of Agra, Dholpur, Bharatpur, Alwar, all in Rajasthan, Gwalior, Bhind, sarkar Bayawan, sarkar Farwar, sarkar Alwar, sarkar Tijarah, sarkar Warnaul and sarkar Bahar are no longer a part of Uttar Pradesh.

3. Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign, p. 112; Sarkar, 'India of Aurangzeb', p. 26; P. Saran, op.cit, p. 69, 70; Irfan Habib, op.cit. p. 8 (n. 160).

number of parganas increased from 202 to 262 in between 1595 and 1695. In Oudh the number of sarkar in 1595 was 5 and in 1695 the number remained the same, while the total number of parganas rose from 133 to 197. In the Subah of Delhi in 1595 the number of sarkars was 2 and in 1695 the number remained the same but the number of parganas rose from 237 to 299. Thus we find that in each Subah except the Subah of Delhi and Oudh, where the number of sarkars remained the same between 1595 and 1695, the number of sarkars increased. Likewise in each Subah the number of parganas also increased.

The major area of present Uttar Pradesh, in the period under review was covered by the four Subahs. Over each Subah there was governor, appointed by the emperor and responsible to him alone. He was known as Hakim Shih-i-Subah¹ Subah-dar or sometimes designated as Jazir. Generally, he was called as Subehdar or Subah-dar. Generally the trusted and experienced nobles holding high ranks were appointed Subehdars². But sometimes princes of the royal family were also appointed Subehdars and they were assisted by their deputies³ in discharging their duties. In the beginning only

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1. Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 252, 220; Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 37, 41, 55; Bernier, p. 455; P. Saran, op.cit.; p. 170; Sarkar, 'Mughal Administration', p. 38.

2. P. Saran, op. cit. p. 171; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 42.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, 391, 394; Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 332; P. Saran, op. cit. p. 159; Sarkar, 'Mughal Administration' p. 39.

one governor was appointed in each subah but in 1586 Akbar started appointing two governors in each subah on the ground that, "if one came to the court or should fall ill, the other might look after his affairs." After Akbar we find that during the absence of Subedar his deputy or Naib-i-Kazim¹ looked after the administration. The duty of the Subedar in his subah was to look after the civil and military administration, establish law and order, promote the welfare of the people, protect the peasantry from oppression, assist the imperial revenue collectors in the collection of revenue, chastise the rebels and insurgents, etc. The Subedars of Allahabad, Agra, Delhi and Oudh were transferred sometimes from one province to another within the region under review but more than often they were sent outside the region to the provinces or subahs.² The Subedars of Allahabad, Oudh, Delhi and Agra worked under the direct supervision of the Emperor and according to his directions which they received through imperial firmans.³ In carrying out day to day administration he was assisted by Bakhshi, Jadr, Qazi, Kotwal, Mir Bahr, Waqiya-i-Navis, Amin and other officers of the subah.

1. P. Saran, op. cit. p. 172; Traveller, Vol. II, p. 114.

2. Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 37-41; P. Saran, op. cit. p. 170, 186; Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 280; H. N. Day, 'The Mughal Government', p. 71; Sarkar, op. cit, p. 39; Foster, 'Early Travels', p. 114; De Laet, p. 94-95; Bernier, p. 227;

3. P. Saran, op. cit. p. 175.

It is interesting to note that from the time of Aurangzeb, a subedar could be assigned a faujdari and thus could be asked to perform the functions of faujdar as well. Besides his duties as subedar, he could be assigned any other duties and any other office as well. We have numerous examples in this connection. In the 40th year of the reign of Aurangzeb, the faujdari of Benaras was assigned to Subedar ¹ Anan, the subedar of Allahabad. In 45th A. Yr he was given the faujdari of Naif Bereilly. ² Again in the 46th A.Yr. the same subedar was given the faujdari of Jaunpur. ³ Incidentally it may be pointed that a subedar could also be assigned faujdari to province other than his own. For example in the 46 A. Yr. of Aurangzeb, the faujdari of Jaunpur was assigned ⁴ to Murad Khan the governor of Oudh for a short period. Sometimes the post of Qiledar was also combined with subedar. For example in the 28th A.Yr. of Aurangzeb the Qiledari of Allahabad was also assigned to the the subedar of Allahabad, ⁵ Muhtashim Khan. Similarly the duty of collecting the nahdari could also be entrusted to a subedar. For example Muhtashim Khan the subedar of Allahabad was given the duty of

1. Akhbarat, RASc40th A.Yr No.34,p.46.

2. Akhbarat, RASc45th A.Yr.xf. 12 a Cf. History of Oudh of Allahabad, p. 244.

3. Akhbarat, 46th A.Yr. No AI,ol a; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 220;

4. Akhbarat, RASc 46th A.Yr. 75 a.

5. Akhbarat, RASc,28th A.Yr.p. 83.

collecting sabdari of Allahabad.¹ It may be inferred that if the Subah was prosperous and the Subedar was efficient and powerful, he was called upon to discharge other duties as well which were assigned by the Emperor.

The next important officer of a Subah was Diwan. He was next to Subedar. He was also appointed by the Emperor. He was subordinate to his immediate boss but was in a way independent also.² He was mainly responsible for the collection of revenue. In this work the Subedar had no right to interfere. On the contrary, the Subedar used to assist him in the collection of revenue of the Mhalisa land under the seal and signatures of Canungoes and Chaudharis. Besides, it was the duty of provincial Diwan to maintain an account of income and expenditure. He also kept the records of jagirdars of the Subah. In short, for financial matters there were³ four Diwans in this region.

Besides, the four Subedars and four Diwans there were numerous other officers to carry out the administration of this vast region. There were Muftis, Qazis, Qadrs and

1. A.L. Srivastava, 'Akbar the Great', Vol. II, p. 120; P. Saran, op.cit.p. 170, 186; Sarkar, op.cit.p.39-40; T.H. Day, op. cit. p. 75.

2. Ain(Trans) Vol. I. p.6, P.Saran, op.cit.p.129; Sarkar, op.cit.p. 41; J.N. Day, op.cit.p.75; Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1938, p. 126.

3. Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p.6; Peter Hardy, Vol. II, p.121; P.Saran, op.cit.p.190-97; Sarkar, op.cit.p.42; T.H. Day, op.cit.p. 75-77; A.L. Srivastava, 'Akbar the Great', Vol. II, p. 121-22, Manucci, Vol. II., p.419.

¹ Mir Asis. The ² tuftis, ³ lazis, and ⁴ Mir Asis were chiefly concerned with judiciary and judicial matters. They used to decide the civil and criminal cases. whereas the adr was in charge of the department of charity and religious endowments. It was his duty to give financial assistance to the learned and pious, to the poor and needy and to grant rent free land (madad-i-khas) to religious institutions etc.

As regards the army, which was necessary for the maintenance of law and order and for suppression of the rebellious amildars, for its maintenance in all of the four provinces there used to be a lakhs. Thus for the entire Uttar Pradesh and the territory which lay outside it there were four lakhs for the maintenance of the army. It was his duty to recruit the soldiers, make arrangements for the provisions and help the subedar, jiwan and other officers. His functions were almost the same as that of Mir Bakshi of the centre.

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1. P. Saran, op.cit. p. 345-46. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 419.
 2. P. Saran, op.cit. p. 339-344; Arkar, op.cit. p. 71; J. I. Day, op.cit. p. 78; Zaminuddin Imdadi, "The Institution of Qazi under the Mughals." Medieval India Miscellany, 1971, Vol. I. p. 1-14. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 419-420.
 3. P. Saran, op.cit. p. 347-350; J. I. Day, op.cit. p. 79. Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 34.
 4. P. Saran, op.cit. p. 338; J. I. Day, op.cit. p. 79.
 5. R. P. Tripathi, "Some aspects of Muslim Administration" p. 233; P. Saran, op. cit., p. 170; 344-45; Ain, (Urdu) Vol. I, p. 198; J. I. Day, op.cit. p. 78-79. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 377-378, 419.

The next unit of administration in this vast region was Sarkar. The following Sarkars were in this region : Sarkar Allahabad, Ghazipur, Benaras, Jaunpur, Hamirpur, Chunar, Kalinjar, Murrach, Morah, Oudh, Gorakhpur, Bahraich, Ahalirabad, Lucanow, Sarkar Agra, Kalpi, Kannauj, Kol (Aligarh) of the sarkar Delhi (Only the parganas, Barhan, Sikendrabad, Garh-Mukteshwar, Meerut and Hapur are only in present Uttar Pradesh), Badaon, Kumaon, Sambhal, Saharanpur. Besides, there were a few Sarkars which are now no longer in Uttar Pradesh.

Sher Shah had affected certain changes in the administration of Sarkar. The Executive head of a Sarkar was called Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran (Chief Shiqdar) and the person incharge of revenue was known as Munsif-i-Munsifan (Chief Munsif). Large number of officers were appointed to assist the forementioned officers in discharge of their duties. Under Akbar the head of a Sarkar was known as Faujdar. In Ain the duties of an ideal faujdar have been

1. See, 'Ain (Trans) Vol.II. 172,179 to 190-193-197-291-2

2. The following Sarkars are no longer in Uttar Pradesh : Sarkar Bathkhora (Madhya Pradesh); Gwalior (M.P.) Irri (M.P.) Bayawan (Rajasthan), Narwar (Rajasthan) Mandarel (M.P.) Alwar (Rajasthan), Raiwari, Hissar Piroza, Sirhind are now no longer a part of modern Uttar Pradesh.

3. Elliot & Dowson, Vol IV, p. 414; P.S. Saran, op.cit. p.2 A.L. Srivastava, 'Akbar the Great, Vol.II, p.130; Noman Ahmad Siddiqui, 'The Faujdar and Faujdari Under the Mughals, Medieval India Quarterly, Vol. IV, 1961, p.22.

4. Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 133, P. Saran, op.cit, p. 210; A. Srivastava, 'Akbar the Great, Vol.II. p. 131; Irfan Habib, op. cit. p. 295.

given under the caption 'Ain-i-Faujdar'.¹ He was appointed through a sanad and he responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the warkar.² He was expected to put down the rebellions, arrest the robbers, take cognizance of all the serious crimes,³ to assist the revenue officials in collection of revenue, It was the duty of the Faujdar to keep the highways safe and intact and to instruct the various Thanedars to maintain law and order. He was required to protect the interest of the people and peasantry.⁴ Hidayat-ul-Awaid mentions that certain instructions were given to a faujdar at the time of his appointment. It mentions "As soon as you reach the place of your service, find out the people who know the past administration of the locality, viz the Ranungoes and others, win their hearts and learn from them which of the troops quartered in your sub-division are inclined to take advantage of the commander's weakness or the difficulties of the administration and who are in secre'

1. Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 42; P. Saran, op.cit, p. 208; J.N. Day, op.cit. p.80; Sarkar, 'Mughal Administration', p.54; A.L. Srivastava, op. cit. p. 131.

2. Sarkar, op.cit.p. 54; P.Saran, op.cit.p.208-9; U.N.Day op.cit. p.80-81; A.L.Srivastava, op.cit. p.131.

3. P.Saran, op.cit.p.211; U.N. Day, op.cit.p.81; Sarkar, op.cit; p. 55-56; A.L. Srivastava, op.cit.p. 131-32; Duties of Faujdar have been described by Peter Mundy. See, Vol.II p. 73. Manucci, Vol.II.p.450-451.

4. J.N.Sarkar, 'Mughal Administration'; p.55; P.Saran, op cit, p.210; U.N.Day, op, cit.p. 81; 'Ain (Trans) Vol.II, p.26; Moreland, 'Agrarian system of Moslem India', p. 272.

league with the lawless amindars¹ Besides, it was the duty of the Faujdar to compel the amindars to pay revenue in time and in case of defiance chastise them. He was also required to maintain sufficient troops to deal with the refractory amindars and other recalcitrant elements.² The territorial jurisdiction of a faujdar varied from place to place and from time to time. Sometimes it extended beyond his sarkar over a region larger than sarkar and sometimes it was limited to his sarkar only.³

Besides, the faujdar there used to be large number of officers in each sarkar for administering the civil affairs of the sarkar. Amil was responsible for collection of revenue of sarkar and he functioned under the direct supervision of and instruction of provincial Diwan of Diwan of the Subah.⁴ The other important officers of sarkar were Kotwal and Cazi.

1. Quoted in Sarkar's Mughal Administration, p. 55; U.N. Day, op.cit.p. 81; N.A. Jiddiqui, Land Revenue Administration, p. 76. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 450.

2. Sarkar, op. cit.p. 55-56; P. Saran, op. cit,p. 210; U.N. Day, op. cit,p. 81, A.L. Privastava, op, cit,p. 131-32; Irfan Habib, op.cit,p. 295, Manucci, Vol. II, p. 451.

3. Sarkar, op.cit,p. 55-56; P. Saran, op.cit,p. 210; U.N. Day, op.cit,p. 81, A.L. Privastava, op, cit,p. 131-32; Irfan Habib, op.cit,p. 295, Manucci, Vol. II, p. 451.

3. N.A. Jiddiqui, Medieval India Quarterly, 1961, p. 23-28;

4. P. Saran, (Revised Edition) op.cit,p. 69; 193; 265-267; 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 46-50; U.N. Day, op.cit.p. 83-5; A.L. Privastava, Vol. II, op.cit.p. 134-137.

5. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 46-50; P. Saran, op.cit,p. 267; U.N. Day, op.cit.p. 83, Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 37-38.

The administration of district headquarter was in the hands of kotwal, who was as a matter of fact the assistant of faujdar and who worked under his supervision. In every important town, within a sarkar there used to be a ¹ kotwal. He had to adopt various measures to check various crimes and criminal activities. He was the watch and ward of the town, controller of the market and was responsible for legitimate disposal of the property and was required to protect the people, prevent crimes and social abuses. It was his duty to make regulations in connection with burials and cremations and slaughter of animals. He acted as senior criminal Magistrate over shikdar of a pargana. Sometimes he also acted as custom officer. As regards the scope of his functions, we get a fair account in 'Ain-I-Akbari', a firman ³ of Akbar issued in 1595 which is included in Mirat-i-Ahmadi ⁴ and Hidayat-ul-Qawaid, ⁵ an administrative manual.

1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 43-45, P. Saran, op.cit. p. 214; Sarkar, op.cit, p. 57-8; U.N. Day, op.cit, p. 85; A.L. Privastava op.cit. p. 133, Manucci, Vol. II, p. 420-21.

2. P. Saran, op.cit. p. 215; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 421; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 188-89; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 217; Sarkar, op.cit, p. 57-59; U.N. Day, op.cit. p. 85; A.L. Privastava, Akbar the Great, Vol. II, p. 133.

3. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 43-45; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II p. 302-3;

4. Mirat-i-Ahmadi (Trans) Vol. III, p. 144.

5. Hidayat-ul-Qawaid, Cf. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 58-59.

Below the Jarkar, parwana was the next unit of administration. In a parwana there used to be these important officers, the ¹higdar, ²Munsif, the amin amil and ³lanungo, who were assisted in the discharge of their duties by a staff consisting of clerks, ⁴treasurer, ⁵Chaudharis, ⁶Patwaris ⁷muqaddams and peons.

1. P. Saran, op.cit. p. 263-271, 34, 419-20; I.N. Day, op.cit, p. 88; A.L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol. II, p. 140; There are a large number of documents, preserved in the State Archives, Allahabad, in which are references about higdar. For example Akham Khan was the higdar of parwana Mallawan in Jarkar Lucknow in November 1620. See, "A Calender of Oriental Records", Vol. I, p. 1-2. I.H. Quraishi, "The pargana Office under Akbar." Islamic culture, 1942, p. 88

2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 46-7; P. Saran, op.cit. p. 180; 264; 265; 268; I.N. Day, op.cit. p. 88; Irfan Habib, op.cit. p. 171; 173; 217; 230; Jarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 193-194; A large number of documents preserved in the State Archives Allahabad, mention about the office of Munsif e.g. one such document refer Farhat Khan Munsif in the parwana Mallawan in Jarkar Lucknow. See, "A Calender of Oriental Records, Vol. I, p. 2. I.H. Quraishi, "The Pargana office under Akbar.", Islamic Culture, 1942, p. 88-91.

3. A large number of documents known as Parwanah and Chaknamah, preserved in the State Archives, Allahabad, refer about lanungo as an officer of the Pargana. For example of a copy of the Chaknamah of land in the villages of Darapur, Mahmudpur and Hasanpur Madho in the parwana Mallawan, Jarkar Lucknow, mention about lanungo. See, "A Calender of Oriental Records. Vol. I. p. 1; and Vol. II, p. 33. For other references see, Aurangzeb's Firman to Rasikdas Cf. Jarkar 'Mughal Administration, p. 171; 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 50, P. Saran, op.cit. p. 274; Moreland, ~~xxxxxx~~ "The Agrarian system of Moslem India", p. 73, 86, 243. I.N. Day, op.cit. p. 89; Jarkar, op.cit. p. 76; Irfan Habib, op. cit. p. 231. Akbarnama, A.V. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 692.

4. Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 50, 52, 53; P. Saran, op. cit., p. 274-75; Hidayat-ul-Cawaid, of Jarkar, "Mughal Administration" p. 77, 191; A.L. Srivastava, "Akbar the Great." Vol. II. p. 140; Irfan Habib, op cit. p. 231, 235. A large number of documents preserved in the State Archives, Allahabad mention about Karkuna e.g. In November of 1610, Kayastha Duidas was the Karkun in the parwana Mallawan in Jarkar Lucknow. See, "A Calender of Oriental Records, Vol. I, p. 1-2; Banarsi Dass Jain also mention about Karkuna in the parwana, see ArdhKath p. 5. I.H. Quraishi, "The pargana office under Akbar", Islamic Culture, 1942, Vol XVI p. 88-91, Akbarnama (Trans), Vol. III

Amildar was the chief executive authority in a pargana. He was required to assist in the collection of revenue, maintain law and order and look after the general administration, maintain an army and extend it to the assistance of other imperial officers in times of need. He had to prepare census report and collect information regarding the occupation of people in his pargana. He controlled the treasury, sometimes, he decided the criminal cases also and those cases which did not fall within his jurisdiction were referred by him to Kotwal.

The collection of the revenue was the main duty of Amil. In this task he was assisted by Chaudharis. Amil

5. Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 46, 50-51; M. Jaran, op.cit. p. 275; J.W. Day, op. cit. p. 126; Irfan Habib, op. cit. p. 123; Barker, 'Mughal Administration', p. 196-7;

6. Reference of the signatures of the Chaudharis and Muqaddams in the Chaknamah of tanika in the villages of Barapur, Mahmudpur and Hasan Madno in the pargana, Mallawan, Barker Lucknow- See, 'A Calendar of Oriental records', Vol. I, p.1; p. In a document Ran Rai son of Ugrasen bin Lakshmi Chander, Dharmpal, Pratapmal and Jagat Rai son of Kalyan Mal bin Ugrasen, Ghan Shyam, Anant Ram, Dharam Dass and Anbali Rai son of Sheo Dass bin Ugrasen, have been referred as Chaudharis of Mallawan, see, 'A Calendar of Oriental records', Vol. I, p. 4; Imamuddin alias Madari son of Rashid Chaudhari (Ibid, Vol. II, p 7); Muhammad Yusuf Chaudhari (Ibid, p.7) Badley Chaudhari (Ibid, O.8) and other reference on page 33.

7. For Muqaddams, see, 'A Calendar of Oriental Records,' Vol. I, p. 1; Vol. II, p.6; Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 51.

used to be in direct contact with the peasantry and the people of his pargana. He used to assist the higdar in maintaining law and order in the country side and for discharging his duties he was expected¹ to seek the cooperation of village head man also. If he was found dishonest or inefficient he could be dismissed at the recommendation of pehedar.

The third important officer in the pargana was the Canungo. His office was hereditary. On his death his legal successor was appointed to the post held by him and he was confirmed by a sanad. The Canungo used to keep the revenue records, schedules of assessment of the previous and current year, and statement of collection of past and present and the statement relating to the peculiarities of the land system of his pargana. In the words of Abul Fazl, the Canungo was¹ "the refuge of husbandmen." His records and knowledge were requisitioned whenever there was any doubt or suspicion about the local customs and practices relating to revenue and land tenure.²

The smallest unit of administration in this period and in the region under review was village. Village

1. Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 50 Cf. J. N. Sarkar, 'Mughal Administration', p. 76

2. Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 72, Aurangzeb's firman to Nasik Dass, Cf. Sarkar, 'Mughal Administration', p. 191-193 Irfan Habib, op.cit. p. 231-35; 287, 292; J. N. Day, op.cit. p. 89; P. Jaran, op.cit, p. 233, 237-38, 419-421.

as unit of administration was recognized by the Mughal government. The latter never altered or changed its traditional administrative pattern. Its autonomy was always maintained. In a village the most important officer was ¹ Chaudhari or village headman called Amkhia. He was a link between the administration and village and played an important part in local administration. Ordinarily his office was hereditary but he could also be appointed by a Samindar. It was his duty to assist Amil in the collection of revenue and give regular information about latter's conduct and behaviour to the emperor from time to time, failing which he ² was liable to be punished or removed from his office. The Chaudhari was also responsible for returning the Tagavi ³ loan. In this work he was assisted by the Mugaddam. It was also his duty to see that the local revenue records were sent ⁴ to the court regularly. If he failed in this duty or failed to realise the revenue, he was removed. Asad Ullah Khan was removed from his office when he failed to realise the revenue

1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 476; Aurangzeb's firman to Rasik Dass, Cf. Sarkar, 'Mughal Administration', p. 194-96; P. Saran, op. cit., p. 419-21.

2. P. Saran, op. cit. p. 419-21; Irfan Habib, op. cit. p. 231-35, 290, 174, 252; Sarkar, 'Mughal Administration', p. 184; 196; T. N. Ray, op. cit. p. 90; A. L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol. II, p. 143; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 123.

3. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 285; Irfan Habib, op. cit. p. 233.

4. P. Saran, op. cit. p. 419. Irfan Habib, op. cit. p. 234-35; Sarkar, 'Mughal Administration', op. 190.

amounting to rupees one lakh.

Within this vast area there was another administrative unit, which is known as faujdari area. The territorial limits of the faujdari could be a pargana, a sarkar or a few parganas and few sarkars and even the whole subah. But seldom the territorial jurisdiction of a faujdari extended to whole of subah. There were large number of such faujdari areas at different periods in this region.² Such areas were either assigned to a subedar or to nobles holding mansabs or even to zamindars sometimes. There were no hard and fast rules³ about making such assignments. In these areas, whose jurisdiction was defined by the Central government, the duty of the faujdar, who was either given additional allowance or conditional rank or jagir, to suppress the rebellions of the zamindars or local chiefs, maintain law and order and to assist⁴ the local officers in the collection of revenue. Again, it may be pointed out that in such areas the faujdar worked independently and under the direct instruction of the emperor. If he required the assistance of the faujdar of sarkar or faujdar

1. Akhbarat, J.A.C. 33rd M.Yr. No. 34, p. 34, p. 100 Cf. M.N. Sinha. The history of subah of Allahabad (Unpublished Thesis) p. 260.

2. P. Saran, op. cit. p. 82-86.

3. P. Saran, op. cit. p. 83-86, 90.

4. P. Saran, op. cit. p. 90; 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 41-42; sarkar, op. cit. p. 56; Iffan, op. cit. p. 295; 'Ain (Trans) Vol. p. 283; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 73.

of arkars or even subehdar or subehdars he was free to take it. The tenure of office of faujdar in a faujdari ~~xxx~~ area was not fixed. It depended upon the condition of the area and *visa vis* the nature of the people.

Besides, faujdari areas in this region there were certain areas which were controlled by either the independent ¹ Hindu chiefs or by samindars and jagirdars. They also helped the government in administration of such an extensive region.

The foregoing account thus gives us a fair idea of administration of this vast region. The subehdars, Bakhshis, adrs, kotwals, Mir Bahr, Ladaya Javis, or news reporters, Amin, Khazanchi (Treasurer), Illedars, Diwan, Kotadars, Muftis, Mir Adls, faujdars of arkars, Amils of arkars, kotwals of important towns, azis of the arkars, khazanchis of the arkars, clerks, patwaries of the parganas, hiddars of the parganas, amil or amiluzar of the parganas, Sanungoes of the parganas, and Chaudharis of the various villages and innumerable officers of the government and semi-governmental agencies

1. For example the Rajas of Kumaon remained independent up to 1587 but they always sent presents to the Mughal court. In 1587 Ram Shah, the Raja of Kumaon sent his son Kalyan Mal to the Mughal court to pay homage. See. P. Narain, Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 119; Likewise Jhrinagar affords another example of a state which maintained independence until the time of Shahjahan. Within their respective jurisdiction, they carried on their internal administration in accordance with the local customs and usages.

besides, the faujwars of different areas known as faujdaris were incharge of administration of this region. The entire administration was based on the principles of checks and balances.

(LAND REVENUE SYSTEM)

From the agricultural point of view the extensive region of Uttar Pradesh was the most fertile and prosperous area. Most of the area of this region was under cultivation in this period. This is evident from the measured area in 1595 and in 1695. The statistics of this measured area is given in 'Ain-i-Akbari and Chahar Gulshan. The extent of area under cultivation and the revenue realised or assessed (hasil or jana) gives us a fair idea of state of agriculture in this region in the period under review.

No account of the land revenue administration would be complete without a reference to the system of assessment prevalent in this region, the classification of land, the unit of measurement of land and the mode of payment. Since the main source of income of the state was revenue, it was quite natural for the imperial administration to turn its attention towards this branch of administration and take keen interest in it. It was Akbar who made decisive effort to bring about the reorganisation of land revenue administration thoroughly. He made an effort to find out a correct system of assessment by which the crops could be assessed accurately and there was minimum chance for the oppression

of the peasantry and minimum losses of revenue.

By the time Akbar started his experiments in the field of revenue administration there were various systems of assessment prevalent in the region under review. The ¹Gallah Bakhshi system, Batai, ²Chet Batai, and Lang Batai, and Kankut system, both were in existence in this region. Akbar introduced the Abt system, a very complicated system no doubt but it safeguarded the interest of the peasantry and the state both. Under this system assessment was done by measuring the area and then multiplying the area by the figures given in the dastur-ul-amals for each crop. The ³assessed yield was known as jama. The jama figures of the

1. According to this system, assessment was made in three different ways, Batai- after the harvest when the crops was stacked it was divided into various heaps of equal quantity and then one heap was taken away by the imperial officer according to state demand. Chet Batai- under this system the standing crop was divided on the field and the state demand was fixed by drawing a line of demarcation. Lang Batai- under this system division was made after the grain was separated from the chaff and made into equal heaps and then the state demand was realised.

2. According to Kankut system the government officers and the cultivator arrived at mutual agreement, estimated the actual produce and then the former determined the state share and realised it.

3. As regards the details of the Abt system, see, Moreland, 'The Agrarian system of Muslim India, p. 139, 200, 235; Dr. Irfan Habib. The Agrarian system of Mughal India, p. 395; Dr. J. N. Day. The Mughal Government, p. 12-3; Dr. A.L. Srivastava, "Akbar the Great", Vol. II, p. 186-7; P. Saran, op.cit., p. 203, V. Smith, Akbar the Great Mughal, p. 273-274.

different markars of this region are given in 'Ain and Chahar Gulshan for the years 1595 and 1596.

The adoption of zabt system required the classification of land, cultivable or cultivated land, classified into, Polaj- which was annually cultivated and never allowed to lie fallow;¹ Parauti-which was left out of cultivation for some-time so that it could recover its fertility;² Chachar- which was allowed to lie fallow for three to four years³ and Sanjar- which remained uncultivated for more than five years.⁴ Elsewhere an account of the measured area in this region has been given, and where it has also been shown that from the 19th A.Yr. of Akbar's reign to the end of Aurangzeb's reign in 1707, there was extension of cultivation in the region under review. Obviously it means that the process of measurement of land and its classification continued under the successors of Akbar.

The Ilahi gaz was used for measuring the land.

1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 68; Moreland, Agrarian system of Muslim India, p. 90-1; Irfan Habib, op. cit. p. 201; U.N. Jay, op. cit., p. 121; A.L. Srivastava, op. cit. p. 177; Frederick Augustus, Vol. I, p. 271.

2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 68; Moreland, op. cit. p. 91; Irfan Habib, op. cit. p. 201; U.N. Jay, op. cit. p. 121; A.L. Srivastava, op. cit. p. 177. Frederick Augustus, Vol. I, p. 271.

3. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 68; Moreland, op. cit. p. 90-1; U.N. Jay, op. cit. p. 121; A.L. Srivastava, op. cit. p. 177, Frederick Augustus, Vol. I, p. 271.

4. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 68; Moreland, op. cit. p. 90-1; U.N. Jay, op. cit. p. 121; A.L. Srivastava, op. cit. p. 177.

Akbar's bigha was of 3600 mani gaz, which was about 3025 sq¹ yards.

As regards the mode of payment, the government collected the revenue in cash in this region. But where the batai and kankut systems of assessment were in existence the crop share was commuted into cash before realisation of revenue.

An account of the officers of the village, pargana and warkar who were responsible for the assessment and collection of revenue has already been given in the foregoing pages. There was well organised machinery for assessment and collection of revenue in the villages. In the villages the Patwaris and Chaudharis in the parganas, the lanungos, amils, qabit, jarib-i-khasah, warkuns and in the warkars, amalguzars, Bitikchi, warkuns and khasanadars were mainly responsible for the revenue administration. This is corroborated not only by the official records and chronicles but also by innumerable official documents.

In the region under review there were different categories of land viz. (1) khalsa land (crown land), (2) Ordinary land under the cultivators, who held it

1. Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 64; Irfan Habib, op. cit. p. 356; A. L. Srivastava, op. cit. p. 184; Moreland, op. cit. p. 243; U.N. Day, op. cit. p. 122-23. Frederick Augustus, op. cit. Vol. I. p. 271.

independently and paid the revenue directly to the government (3) Jagirs or land held by Zamindars, (4) Madad-i-Maash land or rent free land. we do not have any statistics about the area of land under each category, because 'Ain and Chahar Gulshan have only given the total area measured in a particular Sarkar or the different dastur circles of a particular Sarkar.

Khalsa Land : The Khalsa was a group of assignments held directly by the imperial administration. Certain Mahals or parganas were transferred to it from time to time. It was the imperial policy to keep the most fertile¹ and conveniently administered land for Khalsa. But sometimes certain parganas were kept permanently attached to it. The extent of Khalsa also varied from time to time.² In the 19th year of his reign Akbar brought the whole empire, with the exception of the Subah of Bihar, Bengal and Gujarat under Khalsa. ~~Thus~~ Thus, the whole of Uttar Pradesh was under Khalsa in the 19th Yr. of Akbar's reign. But it was only a temporary measure, perhaps to complete the processes of measurement of land, classification of land and

1. Cf. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 270; N. P. Tripathi, Some Aspects of Muslim Administration p. 308; P. Saran, The Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 72, 262; U.N. Day, The Mughal Government, p. 101.

2. Irfan Habib, op. cit. p. 271.

assessment of the revenue. It is difficult to mention the extent of khalsa land in the region under review during this period. Its extent varied from time to time and so its revenue figures.¹

For khalsa there were no separate rules. The rules meant for jagirdars also applied to the officers of khalsa land. The administrative structure in the khalsa areas consisted of the officials and the agents of the Emperor, the permanent local officials and full fledged officials of the imperial administration. It is related that in the 19th year of Akbar's reign, when the provinces of Delhi, Allahabad and Agra were taken under khalsa the entire area was divided into districts, each was expected to yield one harore tankas. To each district an amil or amalguzar, who came to known as harori was appointed. His duty was to assess the revenue and also to collect it. During the reign of Shahjahan the work of assessment was transferred

1. It has been stated by Prof. Irfan Habib that in the 31st A.Yr. of Akbar the jama of khalsa in the provinces of Delhi, Oudh and Allahabad amounted to 1/4th of their total jama. During the reign of Jahangir, it became less and it fell to even below five percent of the total jama. Shahjahan expanded its area and revenue and by 31st A.Yr. it rose to above five percent of the total jama. By the 10th A.Yr. of Aurangzeb its jama amounted to one fifth of the total jama. See, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 272.

2. Ibid, p. 272-3.

from Karori to amin and henceforward Karori was only supposed to collect the assessed revenue. Madullah Khan further reduced the powers of Karori by introducing a new fiscal unit named as Chakla, comprising of a group of mahals or parganas.¹

There was no such practice to give the revenue of the whole pargana or a group of parganas of ahalsa on ijara (farm) during this period in the region under survey.² Besides, the Karori and amin, two other officers were posted independently of them to each pargana, namely fotadar or Khizanadar, the treasurer and Karkun the accountant.³ In 27th⁴ A. Yr. of Akbar's reign the Karkun was replaced by Bitikchis.

In the ahalsa there used to be an earmarked area meant for reassignment to jagirdars. It was kept separately. But it was administered in the same way as ahalsa. The same three principal officers were appointed, amin, Karori, and fotadar, and the regulations of ahalsa were followed in preparing all the records and accounts.⁵ This earmarked

1. Ibid, p. 273-6.

2. Irfan Habib, op.cit. p. 277;

3. Irfan Habib, op.cit. p. 278-281; P. aran, op.cit. p. 264; 266; Markar, Mughal Administration, p. 190-1; Ain (Trans) Vol. I., p. 286.

4. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 351; Irfan Habib, op.cit. p. 261; P. aran, op.cit. p. 268; Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 50-51.

5. Irfan Habib, op.cit. p. 278-281; P. aran, op.cit. p. 266, 268-271.

area in khalsa was known as paibagi. Like the Khalsa, the whole of paibagi was under the control of Diwan-i-Khalsa.¹

Ordinary Land: There were cultivators who held land independently and carried out cultivation without the interference of any outside agency. Their land was also measured in accordance with the rules and regulations framed by the government from time to time. All the revenue regulations also applied to them. They had to pay the revenue directly to the government or through the Chaudharis, who deposited the revenue in the pargana treasury.

The ordinary cultivators can be divided into three categories- Khud kashta, Pahi kashta, and Mucarrari. The Khud kashta cultivator was the proprietor of the soil and had his own land and a house in the same village. He carried on cultivation either himself or with the assistance of the members of his family.² He never used to lease out his land to the other cultivator. He possessed the right to sell the land, transfer it or mortgage it.³ The cultivator whose land and house was located in different villages was known as Pahi Kasht and the Mucarrari Riyaya was one whose possessions were larger than what he could cultivate with the help of his

1. Irfan Habib, op.cit. p. 281.

2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 287; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (Trans), Vol. 1, p. 4, Irfan Habib, op. cit. p. 114-115, 300, 303.

3. Irfan Habib, op.cit, p. 300-3; U.N. Day, op.cit. p. 105-6.

own personal resources. He was held responsible for the payment of revenue of his entire land, which was subject to assessment irrespective of whether it was or it was not under cultivation. Like the other two he also enjoyed the right to transfer the land, mortgage or sell it. The Muqarrari Riyaya were of three types- those who cultivated themselves, those who had tenants and those who had lease holder cultivator. All the three types of the cultivators possessed the same rights. The rights of all the different categories of cultivators were recognised and safeguarded¹ by the government.

Jagir Land : It was common practice in medieval times to grant jagirs either in reward or as gift or in lieu of salary. From Baber to Aurangzeb, we find that Jagirs² were assigned to the nobles in this region from time to time. Except the watan jagirs, which were very few in this region³ all the jagirs were transferrable. They could be given to any

1. See, U.N. Day, "The Mughal Government" p. 106-107.

2. P. Saran, op.cit.p.72; Moreland, op. cit.p. 93; Irfan Habib, op. cit.p. 257-58; Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 190; Bernier, p. 204; U.N. Day, op.cit.p. 102-3; R.P. Tripathi, Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, p. 308; Abdu; Aziz, Mansabdari system under the Mughals, p.39,46; M. Athar Ali, Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p.75.

3. Irfan Habib, op. cit. p. 260; M. Athar Ali, op. cit. p. 78; Bernier, op.cit.p. 227; Irfan Habib, Enquiry, 1971, p. 11-12.

person for any duration of time. It was for the jagirdars to carry out the administration.

¹
Whether it is watan Jagir or ordinary Jagir the jagirdars were required to employ their own agents for the collection of revenue and other taxes. The rules of measurement, assessment of revenue and collection of revenue also applied to him, if he was a holder of ordinary jagir. As regards, the holders of watan jagirs, it seems that such rules were not applicable to them. Local usages and past practices continued to assist him so far as the task of assessment or collection of revenue was concerned. In the region under review the number of Watan jagirs in this period was less as compared to ordinary jagirs.

As regards ordinary jagirs, we have some information about the persons on whom they were conferred in this period. Baber gave Fateh Khan Barwani a pargana² worth one karore and sixty lakhs in 1526; to Mahdi Khwaja³ was given Etawah; Muhammad Sultan Mirza was given

1. The ancestral domains of a Hindu zamindar or King were considered to be a special type of jagir, intransferable and hereditary, known in official terminology as watan.

2. B.N.(Trans), p. 337

3. B.N.(Trans), p. 339

¹ Kannauj, ² Sultan Junaid Barlas was given Jaunpur, Husain Khan
was given ³ Kapri, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's mother was given a
⁴ pargana worth several lakhs, and others were also given
Jagirs in this region, Humayun conferred the jagir of ⁵
Jaunpur on Sultan Junaid Barlas in 1532. In 1537 he
assigned ⁶ Kalpi to Yadgar Nasir Mirza, Nuraddin Muhammad
Mirza the husband of Humayun's sister Gulrang Begum was
⁷ assigned Kannauj. In 1537, after the death of Sultan Junaid
Barlas, ⁸ Hindu Beg was given the jagir of Jaunpur and Beg
⁹ Mirak was given Chunar. After the death of Hindu Beg
¹⁰ Jaunpur was given to Baba Beg Jalair in 1538. Shortly after
his accession to the throne Akbar granted Ali Quli Khan
¹¹ Jhaibani the jagir of Sambhal and other parganas in the Doab.

1. B.N.(Trans), p. 582

2. B.N.(Trans), p. 537

3. B.N.(Trans), p. 530

4. B.N.(Trans), p. 478

5. A.N.(Trans) Vol. I, p. 289

6. A.N.(Trans) Vol. I, p.

7. A.N.(Nizvi, Mughal Asin Bharat (Humayun) Vol. I, p. 34

8. Dr. Radhey Shyam's Honours, ranks and titles under the
Great Mughals" (Baber and Humayun). Islamic culture, April 1973, p. 111

9. Ibid

10. Ibid

11. A.N.(Trans) Vol. II, p. 143, Dr. Radhey Shyam's Honours, ranks
and titles under the Great Mughals', Islamic Culture
Oct. 1973, p. 337

Abdullah Khan entitled Shajast Khan was given the jagir of ¹Kalpi. After 1560 he conferred the jagir of Bahraich on Qiya Khan Gang. In 1577 Akbar conferred upon Raja Ram ²Chandra, the pargana of Arrail in Jagir. In the first year of his reign Jahangir conferred the jagir of Lambhal on ³Mirza Ali Akbar Bahi. The same year Qali Khan was given ⁴Jagir in Larkar Kalpi. In the 2nd A. Year Jahangir gave ⁵Mirza Faridun Barlas a jagir in Subah of Allahabad. In the 5th A. year Dorab Khan son of Abdur Rahim Khan Khana was ⁶given jagir in Chazipur. Next year Khan Khana received a jagir in the Subah of Agra in the Larkar of Konnaaj and ⁷Kalpi. In the 10th A. Year Khan-i-Azam received the ⁸paraganas of Dasna and Kasna in Uttar Pradesh in Jagir. Following in the foot steps of his father Shahjahan also conferred a large number of Jagirs on his nobles in this region. For example in 13th A. Year Mirza Husain Safvi was

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1. A.N. (Trans) Vol II, p.71.
 2. Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p.124
 3. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (R & B) Vol. I, p.25
 4. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (R & B) Vol. I, p.84
 5. Abid, p.117
 6. Abid, p.180
 7. Abid, p.229
 8. Abid, p.289

given Jalesar in Jagir. In 25th A.Year Pura Bundela was given Panwar in ² Markar Keldi in Jagir. In 31st A.Yr. Himmat Khan received Dun Srinagar in Jagir and after him Dun ³ Srinagar was assigned to Bahadur Khan in the same year. Aurangzeb also assigned jagirs to his nobles in this region.

Madad-i-Maash Land : Certain class of people who solely depended for their existence upon the state patronage, were given land, which was known as rent free land or Madad-i-Maash. This type of grant was not made in lieu of salary or for the performance of any civil or military service. The madad-i-Maash could be given to any person or institution. Mostly it was given to learned and pious, Sayyids and Shaikhs, to scholars, Qazis, Sadrs, Muftis, and the religious institutions of the Hindus and Muslims. There are large number of Madad-i-Maash firmans and other documents connected with it in the different archives scattered over this country. Such documents are innumerable and they throw light on many important aspects. The Madad-i-Maash grant made in the favour of a person or institution was non-transferable. Nor was it hereditary in nature. But it was subject to renewal, in case the heirs of the deceased

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1. Lahauri. Padeshahnama, Vol. II, p. 164
 2. Amal ; Saleh, p. 210
 3. Amal; Saleh, p. 245

petitioned through proper channel. There were various rules and regulations, which were to be observed by the holders of Madad-i-Maash land. For instance, if the grantee resided in one pargana and the Madad-i-Maash land was assigned in another pargana, he was not allowed to take possession of the assigned land till he produced a new sanad. But one who has left the pargana voluntarily and without pressure and settles down in the pargana where Madad-i-Maash land was assigned to him, his claim was² recognised. A comprehensive list of such grants has been given in the Appendix.

Land under the possession of Hindu Rajas
Jagirdars and Zamindars: There was fairly large area in this region, which was under the control of Hindu chiefs also designated as Rajas, Jagirdars and Zamindars. Among the Hindu chiefs, mention can be made³ of Raja Vir Bhan of Arail, in the time of Babar and Humayun, the⁴ chiefs of Garhwal Srinagar, Viktaman Bahadoria of Hatkant in the Bhadawar district of Agra under Akbar, Raja Bikramajit and his son Bhoj, the Rajas of Hatkant under Jahangir and Mangat, a Bahadoria chief who served in Bangash during

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1. Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 278
 2. See, Calendar of Oriental Records, Vol. II Government Central Records Office, Allahabad, 1936, p. 57
 3. Dr. Rama Shanker Avasthy "The Mughal Emperor Humayun" p. 10-11.
 4. Vol. I, p. 547

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the reign of Jahangir, Raja Aishan Singh Bhadoria and Badan Singh Bhadoria, the grand son of Aishan Singh's, uncle, Badan Singh's son Maha Singh under Shahjahan and Odat Singh Bhadoria under Aurangzeb. Likewise there were several Hindu
2
Rajas in different parts of the region under review. These
3
Rajas possessed hereditary rights, and they were free to carry on the administration of their territory in whatever manner they liked.

Then there were large number of Jagirdars in this region who were not in the imperial service but enjoyed hereditary rights and assisted the imperial administration in collection of revenue and maintenance of law and order.

A fairly extensive area was in the hands of zamindars. According to Dr. I.N. Day the word, "Zamindar" in the mughal administration was used to denote various

1. Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 547.

2. Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 547.

3. The following the lists of some of the important Zamindars of this region and of the period under review.
1. The Bhadauriya Rajputs of Hatkanth near Agra, A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 78. 2. Bhanpat Chauhans of Etawah (1379) A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 278. 3. Raja Josodia of Fateh ur Sikri (1586) A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 1311-12; 4. Raja Gesu and other Zamindars of Mau (1397) A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 1726. 5. Raja Harbans Singh obtained a firmān from Akbar, whereby he obtained the pargana of Nizamabad and tappa of Daultabad (both in Jarkar Jaunpur) in Zamindari. See. Irfan Habib, Agrarian system of Mughal India p. 180 (n). 6. Raja Ram Sukh (1631) was the zamindar of Champala. See. District Gazetteer Moradabad, p. 152-53. Gaur Rajputs 1637 were Zamindars of Kant-Gola. See. Tarikh-i-Shahjahanpur P. 10; Shahjahanpur District Gazetteer, p. 136, 8. Sita Singh (164 wax zamindar of Katehar, Tarikh-i-Shahjahanpur, p. 259.

types of hereditary interests ranging from powerful, independent and autonomous chiefs to petty intermediaries¹ at village level." Zamindari as an institution existed in this region before the arrival of the Mughals. Babar mentions the word Zamindar frequently in the Hindustan period of his life in his "Memoirs".² The Zamindars held land not only in the areas but also elsewhere. Their primary function was to collect the revenue from the peasants and to pay it either to the treasury or to Jagirdar or to the chiefs or to keep the amount for themselves.³ There were different types of Zamindars - ordinary and intermediary Zamindars. The ordinary Zamindars were holders of proprietary rights over the agricultural land and the

[illegible]

1. Athar al'ine Jugral mobility under airragzeb.
p. 4-co. I.N. Day, op. cit. p. 137. Among the modern writers
Moreland has been the first to use the word as india, see
Arabian system of Islam india, p. 122-29; P. N. op. cit. p. 1
Irfan Habib, op. cit. p. 130; as india in 'Main, Proceedings of
Indian history Congress, 21st session 1958, p. 120-23.
2. B. I. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 320; P. N. op. cit. p. 48
3. Irfan Habib, op. cit. 144-149; P. N. Day, op. cit. p. 137

¹
inhabitational land. They carried out the cultivation themselves or with the help of hired labour. They were proprietors of either one or several ²villages. They enjoyed hereditary rights. At the same time they enjoyed the right to transfer or sell their rights. In both these cases the ³transactions were to be completed in Qazi's court. The persons thus could purchase the zamindaris. The latter could also be conferred by the imperial administration. Generally the zamindari rights were conferred on those who promised to bring forest and waste land under cultivation. The duty of the zamindar was to collect the revenue from the peasant and deposit the share of the State in the State treasury, to assist the administration in the maintenance of law and order and to supply the troops etc. The zamindar had no right to evict the peasant. But he enjoyed the rights of restraining the peasant from leaving the land or to compell him to cultivate all the arable land ~~land~~; In case the zamindar did not pay the revenue to the government the same could be realised directly from the peasants. The ordinary zamindars were some times empowered by the imperial

1. Irfan Habib, op.cit, p.109; V.P. Jay, op.cit. p.137
Barker "Mughal Administration" p.191-93.

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2. Irfan Habib, op.cit. p.173.

3. Irfan Habib, op.cit. p.151, 155-57; V.N. Jay, op.cit. p.137-38.

administration to collect the cesses of different kinds.¹

There were intermediary zamindars also in the region. They also performed similar functions. In return for their services they enjoyed various types of concessions, such as commissions, deductions, revenue free land, cesses etc. They also enjoyed hereditary rights but the state enjoyed the right to interfere with succession, to partition the zamindari among the brothers or relations and to cancel the zamindari or to transfer a zamindari from one locality to another.²

Ain-i-Akbari mentions the zamindars of various castes in different parts of this region.³

It may be pointed out that so long as the zamindars were loyal to the government they were an asset otherwise, they became a liability for the latter. There are numerous examples in this connection, which have been cited elsewhere. In that case the Emperor was left with no alternative than to use force to suppress the rebellious zamindar. It was imperial policy that in case of the rebellion

1. Irfan Habib, op.cit. p.172-73; J.P. Jay, op.cit. p.138.

2. Irfan Habib, op.cit. p.182-83; J.N. Jay, op.cit. p.139.

3. 'Ain (Irfan) Vol.II.p.172,179,184,190,195,197, 291-297 and we get several references about the zamindars in different documents. See. Shamsabad district documents, quoted by Irfan Habib "Economic condition of Uttar Pradesh during the 17th cen." Paper read at Indian History Congress, 1958, and also his article "Aspects of Agrarian Relations and

of a particular Zamindar, his Zamindari or the Zamindari of neighbouring area was given to a person and he was called to suppress the rebellious Zamindar. Thus both ordinary and intermediary Zamindars could be helpful and harmful.

The foregoing account thus makes it clear that from Akbar's time, the Mughal government took every step to establish its hold on the people effectively. Despite this, at times this region continued to experience unrest. It is rather difficult to explain the reasons thereof.

SOCIETY AND THE SOCIAL LIFE.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIETY AND THE SOCIAL LIFE

The political, economic and social condition of this extensive region in the period under review is so interwoven, interconnected and interlinked that an absolutely detailed study of any of these in isolation seems to be difficult, nay stupendous task. At the outset it may be admitted that each of them influenced and were in turn influenced by each other. Any change or development in either of them affected the other and led to a corresponding change. No study of the social condition of this region is possible separately from the broad and general social framework of the whole northern India. Because the social pattern in the whole of northern India in this period was not much different from other parts of this country. However, in the following pages an attempt has been made to present a brief account of the Hindu-Muslim society in the urban and rural areas of the region under review in the 16th and 17th Century.

The social structure of Northern India in the medieval period was, as even now, marked by diversity. Diversity in caste, colour, profession, race and religion was a predominant feature. Since major part of Uttar Pradesh in those days, as even now, was covered by the alluvial plain of Ganga-Jamuna Doab, the society essentially remained agricultural in its character. But the political upheavals, beginning with the arrival of Turks in the 13th Century and the settlement of the foreign races in the different parts of this extensive region visa vis the process of urbanisation which went hand in hand gradually and peacefully brought about new class which was entirely different from that inhabiting in the remote villages and those who were greatly attached to the soil. Therefore for convenience we can divide the Hindu Muslim society first into urban and rural and then further into subsections, of upper, middle and lower strata.

Broadly speaking the Hindu-Muslim society in this period was divided into three distinct groups. On the top were the ruler, the princes and nobles of noble descent, wealthy merchants, Zamindars, high Officials such as faujdars, diwan, etc. and the members of the ruling family etc. etc. as it was chiefly an aristocratic class. It occupied a distinguished position and was held in great honour. It was a well to do and prosperous class and its members led a

luxurious life. They were in the habit of imitating and following the example of their royal patron. The contemporary literature, official histories or private collections, speak greatly about their affluence, their lofty tastes and ambitions and the high standards of living. Their spacious houses or palaces, gorgeous dresses, accumulated wealth, large house-holds, the servants attached to them or they themselves maintained and their big establishments bear testimony to their high status and privileged position.

Next, to it but below this class, was a class consisting of ordinary merchants, whole salers and retailers, traders, money lenders, learned, pious, local officers, physicians and men of little means. It is generally presumed that in the 16th and 17th Century there was no middle class in the region under review but a close study reveals that it was there.

On the other end of the social ladder stood the agriculturalists, peasants, artisans, soldiers, landless labourers, menials, domestic servants, daily wage earners and others, who formed the major part of the rural and urban population.

There were three distinct sections in the Hindu-Muslim society. Each was dependant on the other for its own existence and each was closely related to the other. This relation was either of master and servant or ruler or vassal

or sustained and sustainer. Inherently each class was divided in itself horizontally and vertically both in matters of cast, customs and traditions. Each had a biradari of its own but each served as lever to maintain the social order.

This region was inhabited by two leading communities, Hindus and Muslims and therefore the Hindu-Muslim society requires separate treatment. Although there was not fundamental difference between their composition and structure yet it would be desirable to treat them separately.

Since time immemorial the Hindu society has been caste and class ridden. Our Dhshtras divided it into four Varnas (caste). The basis of this division being both¹ profession or Karma and birth. Sometimes the birth determined the caste, otherwise the caste was determined by profession. Both of these factors have indeed perpetuated the existence of age old social order of the Hindus. According to the doctrine of profession each individual in society was

HINDU SOCIETY

required to take up the work traditionally assigned to the caste to which he belonged and the custodians of religion

1. K.M.Ashraf, Life and Condition of People of Hindustan, p.108-9; Sunder Dass, Sunder Granthawali p.108/3; Ramcharitmanas, p.62; Della Valle, Vo.I, p.77; Peter Mundy, Vol.II, p.94; P.N.Ojha, Aspects of Medieval Indian Culture, p.135.; Manucci Vol.III, p.35. ✓

saw to it that he and his descendants do not change their profession to change their caste or shake the social order from within. That is why the basic structure of the Hindu society remained unaltered for ages before the arrival of the Muslims in northern India. The four Vernas which have been referred to in the Shastras are Brahmans, ¹ Kshatriyas, ² Vaishyas and Shudras. The Brahmins were regarded as honourable members of society and were considered to be well versed in ancient learning. They were the interpreters of law and were responsible for its protection, implementation and observance. Besides, they were also responsible for maintaining the ethical and moral standards of the people by leading pure and simple life and exercising influence on the people by precepts and example. Much has been written about their onerous duties which they were required to perform as custodians of the Hindu law, religion and spiritual guide. Like the Ulema amongst the Muslims they can be divided into two different categories—those who led spiritual life and devoted themselves exclusively to the worship

1. Dr. Tara Chand, Society and State in Mughal Period p. 24-25; For the growth of these castes see Crooks " Tribes and castes in N.W. Provinces of India" Vol. I, p. 10-30; Della Vall Vol. I, p. 77-78; K.M. Ashraf, op. cit. p. 10-11; Banarsi Dass Aradhakatha p. 325, Ain (Bales) Vol. III, p. 126, Manucci Vol. III.

2. Crooks " Tribes and castes of the N.W. Provinces, Vol. II, p. 143; Sam Charitmanas, p. 267; Tevenot, p. 255

of God and those who concerned themselves with the mundane affairs and took equal interest in religion and society. There are ample references about these two categories of¹ Brahmins.

✓ Brahmin as a class did not remain unnoticed by the foreign travellers of the 16th and 17th century. Finch describes them as priests, who put a string (अङ्गुली) ² about their neck. Terry says that they were literate and belonged to priestly order.³ While according to Tavernier, they were philosophers and astronomers and from amongst them priests⁴ and ministers of law were selected. Manucci while describing the origin of the Brahmins mentions that they were born out of⁵ the face of Brahma. ✓

1. K.M. Ashraf, op.cit, p.111; Tulsi Dass, Ram Charit-manas, p.267; Lal Chatraparkash, P.91; Ain (Trans) Vol.III, P.127-129; Bernier, p.302, 305, 313, 320; Thevenot speaks about the Brahmins of South India. See, Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.255; R.Finch, Early Travels, p.19; De Laet, p.27; Edward Terry, Early Travels, p.321. Mrs. Savitri Chandra, Social Life in the Age of Akbar as depicted in the works of Tulsi Dass (Unpublished paper). 7.

2. Finch, Early Travels, p.19; Palsaert, p.77; Ralph Fitch, Early Travels in India, p.16-19, 22, 23; Careri, p.255.

3. Terry, "Early Travels", p.43-49.

4. Tavernier, Vol.II, p.182.

5. Manucci, Vol. II p.35. ✓

Whatever light have been the origin, and how and when they appeared and acquired importance in our society vis-à-vis existence, heridity and continuity by them, are difficult questions to answer. But one thing is certain that their status and composition did not always remain the same. There were changes in it from time to time. It is true that ^{and they} in the Hindus they held a preeminent position. Not only within their own group but even over the others a few of them belonging to higher order established their monopoly. But the caste and sub-caste considerations within the same group ¹ divided this class in due course of time. This division was good and bad. On the one hand it broke the monopoly of the higher caste of Brahmins on the other it led to diffusion. Varied occupation made transmission of skill and from generation to the other but at the same time it checked the growth of inter-occupational ability and together with it ² the social mobility.

Did this class of Brahmins remain dominant in the Hindu society in the Mughal period in the region under review? This is a question which needs examination. It may be stated that the arrival of the Turks and other races from

1. Tulsidass, Ramcharitmanas, p.1186; Sakhi, Kabir Granthawali, p.48; Granthawali, p.55; Tulsidass, Vinay Patrika Pt.II, p.533;

2. Keshav Dass, Kavi Priya, p.149-50; Do Bau Bawan Vishnav Ki Varta, p.31.

beyond the Indus in the 13th, 14th and 15th century in this region and the Sufi saints of the Chishti order and the growth of the Bhakti movement in the 15th century affected the social structure of the Hindus in this region. The Bhakti movement in particular gave a blow nay setback to the Brahmins. The Brahmins alone no longer remained the custodians¹ of religion or sustainer of the Hindu society. During the period under review and in the region under consideration,² there were about twenty one sub-castes of the Brahmins.³ Among them the most important were: Bhupati, Chaube, Gangaputra, Gaur, Gujarati, Kanya Kubiya, Ojha⁴ and many others. Despite the set back this class received, they as individuals and not as a class continued to enjoy their preeminent position in Hindu society. ✓

1. Ramaini, Kabir Granthawali, p. 256/97; Sun/Dass, Sunder Granthawali, p. 183/8.

2. Crooks, "Tribes and Castes of N.W. Provinces" Vol. II, p. 146; Thevenot, p. 255.

3. Crooks, "Tribes and Castes of N.W. Provinces" Vol. II, p. 205; Thevenot, p. 255.

4. Crooks, "Tribes and Castes of the N.W. Provinces" Vol. III, p. 123; Thevenot, p. 255.

Next to the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas occupied an important position in Hindu society. We do not know as to exactly when the word "Rajput" which was used for them, came into use. However, in this region the word Kshatriya and Rajput stood for the same. By the close of the Sultanat period their number in this region seems to have declined. Either they were absorbed by the other sections of the Hindu community namely the middle class and lower strata of society or they migrated to Rajasthan or other distant parts of the country. According to the ancient Hindu classics, this community stood for the defence of the country, protection of the lives and wives of the people and their religion. The loss of independence at the hands of the Turks in the early medieval period of our history speaks of their failure to justify their claims as saviour of the country and people from the hands of the foreigners. No wonder as a class or community in this region its prestige declined to some extent. Before the arrival of the Mughals and establishment of the Mughal rule in this region there were only few

1. Crooks, " Tribes and castes of N.W. Provinces, Vol. III p. 217; Tavernier has used the word Kettris or Rajut, Vol. II, p. 133; Ain (Trans) Vol. III, p. 127; Bernier, p. 39; Thevenot, p. 235; Palsart, p. 78; Gareri, p. 205; Manucci says that, "the second kind of men they make out to have been born from the shoulders of Brahma and these they called Rajputs also divided into several branches"; see Manucci, Vol. III, p. 35; Mrs. Savitri Chandra "Social life in the works of Tulsidas," p. 8-9; Ram Charit-manas, Uttar Khand, 21/1; Dohawali 5/2.

najput chiefs in this area who enjoyed power and authority. From 1326 onwards, they were reduced to submission. Despite the political pressure being exerted upon them, a number of a joint caste and sub-castes continued to maintain their existence. This is evident from the " Ain of Abul Fozal . He has mentioned about Chandels, Khandwal (Garhwal) rajputs in the sarkar of Allahabad, ¹ Bachhoti, Korak, Kausik, Gautam rajputs in the sarkar of Jaunpur, ² Khandelwal and Bachhoti rajputs in the sarkar of Manikpur, ³ Gadhwal, Garihar Chandel, Khandwal rajputs in the sarkar of Bhatkora, ⁴ Dikshit, Gautam and Chandel rajputs in the sarkar of Mirrah, ⁵ Chauhan, Bachel, Guhlot, Bachhoti in the sarkar of ⁶ Udh. Rajbanshis in the sarkar of Gorakhpur, ⁷ Janwar and Tanwar rajputs in the sarkar of Bahraich, ⁸ Gaur Chauhan, Janwar, Kiar rajputs in the sarkar

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1. ' Ain(Trans) Vol. II, p.172,
 2. ' Ain(Trans) Vol. II, p.174,
 3. ' Ain(Trans) Vol. II, p.176,
 4. ' Ain(Trans) Vol. II, p.177
 5. ' Ain(Trans) Vol. II, p.178
 6. " Ain(Trans) Vol. II, p.185,
 7. ' Ain(Trans) Vol. II, p.186
 8. ' Ain(Trans) Vol. II, p.187

¹
of Khairabad, Bachhoti, Chandel, Ghilot, Chauhan, Barahkala
²
rajputs in the arkar of Lucmow, Chauhan, Bhadeoriya,
Panwar, Ghilot, Ikarwar, ³ and in the arkar of Agra,
Kachwaha, Chauhan, Sengar, Parihar, rajputs in the arkar of
⁴
Kaipi, Chandel, Chauhan, Benar, Jhakar, Lauresah, Mathor,
Panwar, Ghilot ⁵rajputs in the arkar of Kannauj, Chauhan,
Lauresah, Junharah ³rajputs in the arkar of Kol. Thus there
were more than twenty castes and sub-castes of Rajputs in this
region. Besides, there were many mixed castes which had
sprung up on account of amloma and pratiloma marriages
among them.

The Rajput community, it seems was divided
into two broad sections- upper class, consisting of
the Hindu ruling families, Zamindars and Jagirdars etc. and
lower class consisting of persons engaged in other
professions., such as trade, agriculture, money lending,
banking, etc. The political and economic change that took
place in this region in the period under review were to some
extent responsible for the rapid transformation of the nature

1. 'Ain(Trans) Vol. II, p. 188

2. 'Ain(Trans) Vol. II, p. 187,

3. "Ain(Trans) Vol. II, p. 194

4. 'Ain(Trans) Vol. II, p. 195,

5. "Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 196

6. 'Ain(Trans) Vol. II, p. 197

For the subcastes of Kshatriyas, see Ain(Trans) Vol. III, p. 131,
for sub castes of Rajputs, see for details , Manucci, Vol. II, p.

of this community. wars and campaigns no longer remained their sole business. Members of the community frequently changed their profession. But the change of profession did not imply or mean change of caste.

Although we have very little information about the Rajput ruling families (Rajas, in this region in this period, but of course there is some information in 'Ain-i-Akbari about the Rajput Zamindars of this region. They were of different clans, e.g. Kachuvanshi, Pachloti, Santami, Janwar, Kachwaha, Jengor, Parihar, Charhan, Baghela, etc. There were only few parganas where there were non-Rajput Zamindars. In the parganas of Bahdoi, ¹oron, Kusi, Khairagarh, Alwani, ²husi, Balia, Pachotar, Pilsahabad, Bahariabad, Dihba, Chazipur, Knapachihit, Gangha, Gahner, Benares, Kotehar, Aldoma, Angli, Tilhani, Jaunpur, Chandah, Chiriyakot, Iharid, Khanpur, Deogaon, Bari, anjhauli, Bagdi, ³Jurharur, ⁴Kadiabad, Zafarabad, Guriyat, Mitti, Guriyat, Dostpur, Guriyat Mendhah,

1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 173; Mirzapur District Gazetteer, p. 276,

2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 172; Ghazipur District Gazetteer, p. 137, 137, 139,

3. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 173; Benares District Gazetteer, p. 297, 331; Sultanpur Dist. Gazetteer, p. 329, 253; Faizabad District Gazetteer, p. 184-85.

4. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 174; Ghazipur Dist. Gazetteer, p. 339; Jaunpur Dist. Gazetteer, p. 293; Fatehpur Dist. Gazetteer p. 297.

Qariyat Jeothah Kolah, Ghiswah, Chosi, Cadawarah, Kandiyyah,
 Copalpur, Karakat, Mandiahu, Muhammedabad, Mungra, Nizamabad,
 Arwal, Bhalol, Tihandi, Jalalpur, Rae Bareilly, Salon, Qariyat¹
 Karah, Kathot, Nasirabad, Ugasi, Ajaigarh, Swndha, Simauni,²
 Shadipur, Kharelah, Mahoba, Jajmau, Chatmpur, Lutia, Cuner,³
 Muhasanpur, Eichhi, Atharban, Aysa, Haveli, Kari, Munra,⁴
 Fatehpur Hanswa, Hatgaon, Lanswah, Anhonah, Panchhamarth,⁵
 Belehri, Basodhi, Thanah Bhadaon, Bakhta, Dariyabad, Rudauli,⁶
 Silak, Gatanpur, Subeha, Sarwapali, Kishmi, M-angalsi,⁷
 Binayakpur, Banbhanparah, Telpur, Chiluparah, Kihili, Gorukhpur,⁸
 Handwah, Bahraich, Sujhauli, Sultanpur, Firozabad, Baror⁹
 Anjanah, Beswah, Pila, Sandi, Sarah, Sadrpur, Gopamau, Kheri,¹⁰
 Machherhatta, Lsauli, Asifun, Bangarmau, Bijlaur, Detholi,¹¹
 Parsanjan, Jahalotar, Dewi, Dadrah, Ramkot, Sandilah, Saipur,
 Sarosi, Sahali, Sidhor, Sandi, Geron, Fatehpur, Fatehpur Cheuras:

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1. 'Ain, Vol. II, p. 175-76.
 2. 'Ain, (Trans) Vol. II, p. 176.
 3. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 177
 4. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 178.
 5. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 179.
 6. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 184-85.
 7. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 186.
 8. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 187.
 9. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 187.
 10. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 187.
 11. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 189.

Amethi, ¹ Mursi, Lakori, Nachhandan, Lonbhi, Mohan, Makraed, ²
³ Atwah, o'l, Oudehi, Sari, Bhosalar, Chaslar, Jalesar, Chandwar,
 Chausath, Kapri, Najhokar, Jangar Songri, Patchpur, Kotumbar, ⁴
 Mahauli, Mangotlah, Mandwar, Nazirpur, Lataxanth, Lilak,
 Ulai, Bilaspur, Kaeupur, Suganpur, Shahpur, Inar, Chandaut, ⁵
 Lhandelah, Bhogaon, Teliron, Dithur, Lilhaur, Patiali, Pati,
 Alipur, Pati Nakhat, Bernah, Dara, Chibranaui, echa, Saket,
 Chedlo, Sakatpur, Sakraon, Sahar, Auriah, Sanor, Simandarpur, ⁶
 Shamshabad, Kannuj, Kampil, Kuraoli, Melkusah, Nonamau,
 Atrauli, ~~Ati~~ Aubarabad, Bilraon, Pachlana, Tappal, Thanah
 Farida, Talali, Chaudans, Lidhupur, Kol, Cangeri, Marahrah,
⁷ Malakpur, Nuh, Bhauder, Bijpur, Pandor, Jhatra, Kiabanah,
 Shahzadpur, Kha Kes, Khaerah, Moholi, Barah, Babari, Suighanah
 Udaipur, Kanodah, Lot putli, Kanori, Lopota, N^ymol, Deghpat,
 Palwal, Barnawah⁸, Path⁹, Deri Dobaldhan, Tilpat. Jear,

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1. In Sarker Lucknow, Subah of Awadh, 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 184.
 2. In Sarker Lucknow Subah of Awadh, 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 190.
 3. ~~ix~~ In Sarker Agra, Subah of Agra, 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 193.
 4. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 194.
 5. In the Subah of Agra, 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 195.
 6. In Sarker Kannauj, 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 196.
 7. In Sarker Koil, 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 197.
 8. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I I, p. 198.
 9. In Subah Delhi, 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 291.

Dasma, Dadri Taha, Dankaur, Sonipat, Garh Mukteshwar, Ajaon,¹
Bareilly, Rajpur, Asar, Dhogpur, Thanah Rhim, and other
Parganas of the Subah of Allahabad, Awadh and Delhi and of
Sarkar of Allahabad, Chazipur, Benaras, Jaunpur, Manikpur,
Chunar, Kolinjar, Kurreh, Sarkar Awadh, Gorukhpur, Bahraich,
Lhairabad, Lucknow, Agra, Kalpi, Kannauj, Kol, Irij and Narnaul,²
Delhi, Badaon, Sambhal, and Saharanpur, there were Rajput
Zamindars of various clans.

The Sub-castes of the Rajputs or Ishtriyas found
in the period and region under review are Agstwar in the
pargana Haveli of Benaras,³ Abhan in Awadh,⁴ Amethya in the
pargana Amethi,⁵ Sarkar Lucknow, Bachghoti, Bachil, Beghel,
Bais and Bundelkhandi, mostly found in Sultanpur; Barhiya,
Bachaliya, Bargah, Baraiyan, Benbens, Bessar, Bhadoriyas, Bharadwa
Bundela, Chandsuriya, Chandel Chauhan, Dhakara, Durgbanshi,

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1. In the Subah of Delhi, Ain(Trans)Vol.II,p. 292.
 2. In the Sarkar of Badaon, Ain.(Trans)Vol.II,p.293-4;
Sarkar Sambhal,Ain (Trans)Vol.II.p.295;in/Sarkar Saharanpur,
Ain (Trans) Vol.II,p. 296.
 3. Agastwar in Haveli Banaras, See,Crooks, Tribes and Caste
in the N.W. Provinces, Vol.I,p.26.
 4. Abhan caste is found in Awadh, Ibid, p. 37.
 5. For Amethiya, See, Ibid,p.93;for Bachil See, Ibid, p.96;
for Baghel See, Ibid,p. 102; for Bais, See, Ibid,p. 118; for
Baradhal ~~Highkars, Ibid, p. 102; for Bachil, See, Ibid, p.~~
Goti, See, Ibid,p. 140; for Barhiya, See. Ibid,p.200; for
Barhaliya, See, Ibid,p. 200; for Bargah, and Baragaiyan, See,
Ibid,p. 185; for Benbens, See, Ibid,p. 242; for Bessar, See,
Ibid, p. 249; for Bhadauriya, See, Ibid,p. 250.

Cuhilot, Gara, Gaur , and Gaurahar sub castes of the Rajputs¹ were also found in this region. Thus, in short there were many sub-castes of the Rajputs in this region.

Next to the Kshatriyas were the Vaishyas, who² occupied an important position in the Hindu society in this region in the Muslim period. They were known as Baniyas,³ Mahajan and Gaku etc. There were numerous sub castes of it viz. Agarwalas, Arakhi, Ayodhyabasi, Benarwar,⁴ Karabscni, Dishnoi, Cohal, etc. Among the Agarwalas there were more than seventeen sub-castes or gotras, such as Garga, Calhila, Cautam, Aniska, Kashyap, Gandya, Mandarya, Mudgala, Dhanavsha, Dhelana, Dhanod, Aitariva, Nagendra. The Arakhis were found in considerable numbers in Allahabad , Benaras, Gorakhpur, Lucknow and Faizabad. They were closely

1. Cheradvai, Ibid, Vol. II, p. 13; Bisen Ibid, p. 116; Bundela, Ibid p. 163; Chandauriya, Ibid, p. 196; Chandel, Ibid p. 196; Chauhan, Ibid, p. 207; Dhakori, Ibid, p. 161; Furgbansi, Ibid p. 346; Gahlot, Ibid, p. 374 ; Gara, Ibid, p. 392; Gaur, Ibid p. 399; Gaurahar, Ibid, p. 403 .

2. Ain(Trans) Vol. III, p. 127; 1131-32 ; Bernier, 325; Careri, p. 256; According to Manucci, " the third kind are said to be born from the thighs of the said Brahmins, and there are the merchants or shopkeepers of whom also there are many varieties". Vol. III, p. 35, Also see, Vol. I, p. 155, 157.

3. Pedantically the Baniya known as Baggal a term applied in Arabia and Persia to green grocers, Travernier, Vol. II, p. 105, 133; Crooks, " Tribes and Castes of the N. Provinces Vol. I, p. 174; Hevenot, p. 256, De laet p. 87-88.

4. Ain(Trans) Vol. I, p. 131-32; Crooks, op. cit. p. 16.

connected with the ¹Aravals. Another sub caste ²Jodhyabashis is chiefly found in ³Uttar Pradesh. There were 36 ⁴gotras in it, which are found in ⁵Mirzapur. The ⁶Barohani were found in the western districts of this region and ⁷Baranwal were mostly found in ⁸Baran, ⁹Meerut, ¹⁰Benaras, ¹¹Gorakhpur etc. The ¹²Lishnois were found in ¹³Meerut and in ¹⁴Meerut, ¹⁵Cohils were found chiefly in ¹⁶Meerut, ¹⁷Meerut and ¹⁸Meerut districts of Uttar Pradesh. All these castes and sub-caste of the Vaisya community were chiefly engaged in trade and commerce,

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1. "Crooks," Tribes and castes of the N. Provinces" Vol. I, p. 33.
 2. Crooks, Vol. I, op. cit, p. 75 .
 3. Ibid, p. 139.
 4. Ibid, p. 177.
 5. Ibid, p. 183.
 6. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 120.
 7. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 377; and another caste of Laniyas known as Barani in the Barani District. See Ibid, p. 421; Jaiswar in Aligarh and Agra, See, Ibid, Vol. III, p. 12; Handelwal, Ibid, Vol. III, p. 123; Kesarwani in Allahabad, Mirzapur, Benaras, Ballia, Pratapgarh, Ibid, p. 163; Mahajan caste in Mathura District. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 405; Maheshwari in the western Districts, Ibid, p. 407; Paliwal caste in Bundelkhand, Kanpur, and Agra, Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 136; Wastogi in Awadh, Mirzapur District, Ibid, p. 234; Kahniyar in Benaras and Gorakhpur district, Ibid, p. 240; Kohli in Aligarh, Ibid, Vol. II, p. 243; Umar in Meerut District, Agra and Amroha divisions, Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 422.

agriculture, money lending, or in other professions.

Besides, the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, the orthodox and popular Hindu traditions mention about the existence of more than thirty six castes and sub-castes in this region in this period. Before enumerating those castes and sub-castes, it is essential to point out that there were some upper castes which were not included in any of the four Varnas, which bore the importance during our period. For example the Rayasthas.² Originally they belonged to occupational group but in the course of time they crystallised themselves into a caste. From the 16th Century onwards members of this caste began to occupy high positions in public services. They were highly cultured and educated and were mostly influenced by Muslim culture. The Rayasthas were the elite of the Hindu society and held a distinguished position in Hindu society.

1. There were a large number of Paiss who were zamindars of a large number of Parganas in the different Sarkars of the Subah of Allahabad, Oudh, Delhi and Agra Viz: Bais Zamindars in Subah of Allahabad, See ' Ain (trans) Vol. II, p. 176, 177, 178; Subah of Awarh, Ibid, p. 184-85, 186, 187, 188; Bais in Asiyan in Lucknow Sarkar, Unchagoun, Bilgroun, Fari, Shuriman, Panwan, Pandlau, Teorakah, Janbarpur, Satapur, Sidhpur, Ahenar, Ain (trans) Vol. II p. 186; Lachkar, Halewan, Mohan, Harha, Lenoar, Ain (trans) Vol. II, p. 187 in the Subah of Agra; Bais in Suganpur, in Sarkar Kannauj, Ibid, p. 196; Bais in Sarkar Sambhal, Subah Delhi, Ibid, p. 295.

2. K.M. Ashraf, op.cit, p. 109; Crooks, op.cit, Vol. III, p. 134. According to Mannucci, "In the empire is another Hindu race called Khet (Kayath) who are great scribes and arithmeticians and through these sorts they rule all the courts. Though they receive no high pay they are still much cherished by the great for their good advice". Mannucci, Vol. II, p. 449.

like the other communities it too comprised of several sub-castes or gotras. There were many sub-castes in the ¹ Kayasth community.

When there were many occupational castes such as sewers, goldsmiths, weavers, steel leaf sellers, tin workers, sheilds, millmen, carpenters, smiths, blatts, ahirs, dyers, flower sellers, oil printers, bakers, oilmen, jewelers, wood cutters, salt sellers, fishermen, etc. Manucci ² also Jain, the author of Arddhatika mentions about the different occupational castes, which he notices in the work in the early ³ seventeenth century.

1. The Kayasthas were divided into twelve sub-castes: Brivastvi, Bhattacharya, Baksent, As-thana, Brahminathur, Kulsheshta, Nigam etc. See, Crooks, Vol. III, op. cit. p. 138-216.

2. "Hind (Hans) Vol. I, p. 12-14, 20, 113, 138, 156, 170; Irfan Habib, op. cit. p. 120-21; Palsaert, p. 77; Peter Lundy, Vol. II, p. 94; 114; For Barhai, Crooks, Vol. I, op. cit. p. 190; Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 188-183; For weavers, see, Bernier, p. 40. Palsaert says that the Moslems scarcely practised any craft except dyeing and weaving, which are allowed by the Hindus in some places, but by Muslims everywhere." Jahanir's India, p. 77. The lowest caste was Mathura Bhanti, who engaged themselves in cleaning the houses. See, Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 182-83;

3. Manucci Dass in the Arddhatika mentions about the following castes:

दरजी, तमोली, ग्वाल, बढई, संगतरास, तेली, घोड़ी, घुनिया, कदोई, काड़ी, माली, कुदीगर, किसान, पट-घुनिया, बिदोरा, बारी, मदेरा राज, पटुवा, इम्पर, नाई, सुनार, लुहार, धीवरा, बहार, शीशरी, बनिया, चितौरा, पृष्ठ ३ ।

while according to Manucci, "Finally there is the fourth and the last kind, born as they say from the feet of Erhama; these are the Chudras who just like other many subdivisions, and it is difficult even to count them" See, Manucci, Vol. III, p. 35.

However, this does not exhaust the list of the castes and sub-castes of this region. In some cases length of residence in a certain locality gave a group of people features of a caste. While in others, actual contact of the Hindus with Muslims led to the formation of a separate and new caste. Such new castes are invariably found amongst each caste.

Then there were many lower castes. Lower castes can be divided into two broad categories—those who enjoyed some status in the lower order of the Hindu society and those who had no status at all. To the former category belonged, Jats, Gujars, Chirs, Munbis and to the latter the dom, chamar and others who performed menial work and were considered to be ¹untouchables.

Such was the structure of the Hindu society in this region during the period under review. It may be pointed out that despite rules of conduct, daily routine and inter caste behaviour laid down in the Smritis the Hindu society in this period could not retain its ancient composition, character and nature. And, this period no doubt when the Brahmins continued to hold distinct position but the actual leadership and the influence wielded by them ceased to be as decisive as before. A number of social and economic factors

1. Banarsi Das mentions this class as a separate caste. See, "Arch Katha", p. 3/23; Pulsi Dass, Lam Charitarnas, p. 267; "Ain (Trans) Vol. III, p. 127-28; Bernier, p. 325; Lucca, Vol. II, p. 455.

were responsible for modifying the rigidity of the caste system and bring in about a change in the relative position and privileges of the higher castes. Of these factors one was introduction of Islam in this region. The essentially proselytising nature of Islam and its stress on the social equality and fraternity caused its followers open their doors wide to receive the lower castes of the Hindu society. This offer had additional force because it issued from those who ruled this region and who possessed unlimited resources. The large scale conversions from the lower or even of the Hindu society affected the Hindu society as a whole. Besides, the urbanisation of the country under the Muslims brought the occupational castes to the forefront and elevated their status and position in the Hindu society. Again, there was rise in the status of such caste such as the Jats, Amils, Amils, Amils, etc., from whom we find Amils in some of the Amils on this region.

Besides the Hindus, the region under review was also inhabited by a large number of Muslims, belonging to different sects. They were the followers of Islam and its different sects. The caste system was not unknown to the Muslims before their advent to Hindustan. There was no caste

1. "Amils," Amils in Amils of Amils, " in (Trans) Vol. II, p. 184, 185; Amils in Amils, Ibid, p. 188; Jat in Amils Agra, Ibid, p. 193; Amils and Jat in Amils, Ibid, p. 193-94; Amils in Amils, Ibid, p. 195; Jat in Amils in Amils, Ibid, p. 197; Jat in Amils Amils, Ibid, p. 291; Amils, Amils, Jat, Ibid, p. 292, 295, 293-97.

system amongst them and therefore there was no division of the society on the basis of caste. With the establishment of the Turkish rule in India in the 15th century, large number of Muslim races migrated and settled down in the different parts of this region. Among these races the

MUSLIM SOCIETY. prominent ones were the Arabs, Turks, Afghans, Persians, Sindhis, etc.

Later they were followed by the Abyssinians, Baluchis, Uzbeks and Armenians etc. No doubt that these various races professed Islam but they were believers of different sects of Islam. Each one of them was different from the other in manners, customs, traditions, religion and political outlook. Their association with the Hindus vis-a-vis their common interests led to much give and take. These new races under new political, social and religious atmosphere of this region adopted some of the basic traits of the Hindu society in due course of time. The caste system of the Hindus was one of such traits, which decisively influenced them. The Muslim community of this region was divided horizontally and vertically both on the basis of birth, descent and profession.

Broadly speaking the Muslim society was divided into four classes irrespective of caste, colour and creed considerations. The Sayyids and Shaikhs known as Ulema; the ruling class consisting of the members of the ruling family,

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nobility and ¹landowners; thirdly, the merchants, traders, money lenders, physicians etc.etc. and finally the peasants, menial and domestic servants, artisans, landless labourers, slaves etc.

The Mughal Emperor Humayun recognised the distinct groups of the Muslim society Ahl-i-¹Ulul-the proper ruling class, which comprised of the members of the ruling family and nobility and army; Ahl-i-¹Ulul or intellectuals, which comprised of the theologians, learned and pious, the Sayyids, the leaders of the religious thought, men of piety and devotion, poets and writers; and Ahl-i-²Ulul or class catering for pleasure, which comprised of musicians and minstrels of beautiful girls and others too, was of equal importance considering that every one was fond of smooth faces and of sweet hearts. ³ If we follow a more detailed classification of these groups made by Humayun we can enumerate a dozen of inner groups, which compare more or less favourably with the existing social divisions of the upper classes of the Muslim society. ⁴ The following is the order of their status,

1. N.H. Ashraf, op.cit, p. 81, 83, 84; M. Iqbal Chaudhary, "Society and State in Mughal period," p. 29-30; L. Crivell, "Akbar the Great, Vol. III, p. 68.

2. Ganuni-Humayuni (trans), p. 25; N.H. Ashraf, op.cit, p. 82.

3. Khwandamir, Ganun-i-Humayuni (trans), p. 26.

4. Khwandamir, "Ganun-i-Humayuni (trans), p. 27; N.H. Ashraf, op.cit, p. 82.

the emperor, the royal family, the Khans and other of noble rank, the Sayyids and the Ulema, the assignment holders, the great functionaries of the State, the leaders of the various clans, the corps of royal pages, the keepers of the royal paraphernalia, the household attendants of the sovereign, the domestic and menial servants. They were further divided¹ according to their grades or rank. This classification overlaps in many places and appears sometimes as unscientific. However, it gives an idea of the composition of upper class Muslim society and the position of other classes under it.

It has earlier been stated that the Hindu society mainly consisted of four main castes and numerous sub-castes. The same holds true with regard to Muslim society to some extent. On the top of the social ladder next to the sovereign and members of the ruling family, were the Shaikhs and Sayyids known as Ulema. By virtue of their noble descent and the fact that they were fully religious and completely pious, they occupied a respectable position in the Muslim society. They tried to follow the injunctions of Quran and Hadis in their private and public life and asked their co-religionists to do the same, not only for elevating their moral and ethical status but attain salvation. According to them Islam was an integrated system which comprehended all the aspects of the life of the individual and society. Being the custodians of religion and

1. Khwandmir, Qanun-i-Humayuni (Trans) p. 27-29; Morelan India at the death of Akbar, p. 65.

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Before and related to a mission, the Ulema exercised tremendous influence on the people and the administration. But this influence waxed and waned according to the religious and political temperament of the rulers vis-a-vis the attitude of the rulers towards the religion of the governed. These Ulema were divided into two groups—those who were learned and pious and were totally devoted to their faith and followed the tenets of their faith meticulously—in those who posed and pretended to be learned and totally engrossed in the worldly affairs. Members of each group differed in their socio-religious and political outlook.

✓ Next to the Ulema but holding a superior position in the Muslim community were the members of the ruling family and nobility. The ruling family comprised not only the ruler but his near relations, sons and daughters and their in-laws. It was a privileged class, with influence and wealth and it was famous for its luxurious life, liberality, grandeur and splendour. But the status of all the members of the ruling family was never the same. And how could it be. The robes, marks of honour, rewards, gifts and titles which were conferred by the Emperor upon them from time to time in lieu of the

1. I.M. Ashraf, op.cit. p.96; Dr. Tara Chand, Society and State in the Muslim Period, p.29-30; Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p.83; Manucci, Vol.II, p.454.

2. I.M. Ashraf, op.cit, p.52-80; Palsaert, p.60; Peter Mundy, Vol.II, p.86, 189, 91-97; Manrique, Vol.II, p.155-56; Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p.65-73; Dr. Athar Ali, Mobility Under Aurangzeb, p.59, 75.

recognition of their services or otherwise used to determine their status and they were accordingly treated. The same holds true with regard to the nobles ¹.

The nobility in general and Muslim nobility in particular can be divided into many sections and sub-sections- the indigenous and foreign. To the former category belonged the Indian Muslims, while to the latter belonged the Mughals, Uzbeks, Persians, Abyssinians, Arabs, Turkmenians and others of foreign extraction. One of the great Mughals we find the growth and emergence of these various racial groups in society and politics. What was the proportion of these various racial elements in the nobility during the period from 1526 to 1657 is difficult to say. Statistical accounts in consolidated form are not available. But for the reign of Aurangzeb, the statistics has been given by Dr. Athar Ali, on the basis of his own ² researches. However we are not concerned with the details of the numerical strength racial elements in nobility here. It would be sufficient to mention here that the nobles who inhabited in the different parts of this region, or were posted in the different parts of this region belonged to

1. For details see, Dr. Mahdhey Shyam, Honours, Ranks and Titles under the Great Mughals, Islamic Culture, April, 1972, Oct. 1973 and Dr. Athar Ali, op.cit. p. 59, 75, 139.

2. Dr. Athar Ali, Nobility Under Aurangzeb, .

various places. The Rajputs or Suranis in Punjab, Afghans and others were the important elements of the multi-¹religious and social Muslim society of this region.

The Suranis were distinguished for their valour, military leadership, they claimed racial kinship with the Muslim family. They held high positions and formed an official class. The Afghans too belonged to aristocratic race and they lived in different parts of this region. The persons who were noted for their intelligence, shrewdness and skill in penmanship, were in great numbers in this region. Of the Indian Muslims the Sayyids of Delhi, occupied an important position amongst the different social elements of this region. Their strong hold was Jansath in Mu-affarnagar District of Uttar Pradesh.² From here they had spread to other parts of this region.

Besides, the members of the ruling family and nobility there were others belonging to different professions, who lived in the cities and towns and played very important role in social, political and economic life of this region. This group consisted of the Qazis, Kotwals,

1. Muhammad Yasin, A Social History of Islamic India, p.1-24.

2. Ain-i-Akbari Vol.I, p.425-26, 430; Manucci, Vol.II, p.454; Muhammad Yasin, A Social History of Islamic India, p.16.

Indians, Muslim merchants, artists, bookbinders etc.

In the important element of the Muslim society was the class of Muslim Zamindars and Jamindars, who formed a part of the rural as well as urban population. There were a large number of Muslim Zamindars of the different castes in the different parts of this region.

A vast majority of the population of this region live in the rural areas. In such areas we find the Muslim

1. Dunsford, p. 64, 60; Vernier, p. 104; Morley, "India at the Death of Akbar", p. 63-94.

2. Sayyid Zamindars in Auli in the Subah of Allahabad; Jamindars in Likhari, Lucknow; the Siddiqui Zamindars in Jalesar and Sayyid Zamindars in Banjhauli, See, "Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 174; Siddiqui Zamindars in Bithpur in Sarkar Jaunpur, "Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 175; Siddiqui, Ansari and Farruki Zamindars in Chunar in Subah Allahabad, "Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 176; Afghan and Lodi Zamindars in Ibrahimabad, "Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 178; Ansari Zamindars in Subah Awadh, See, "Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 184; Ansari Zamindars in Gaterikh, "Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 185; Afghan-i-Liyani in Jiraula in Gorakhpur, "Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 186; Ansari, Sayyid and Unam Zamindars in Phethi, Sarkar, Lucknow, "Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 188; Sayyid Zamindars in Bilgram, the Afghans in Sighor and Shaikhzadah in Patehour, "Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 189; Shaikhzadah Zamindars in Lucknow, Ibid, p. 190; in Uo in Agra Subah, Ibid, p. 193, the Sayyid Zamindars in Mohaman, Ibid p. 194; Shaikhzadah in Teopur, Mutu; the Afghan and Turkoman Zamindars, in Sarkar Balpi, Ibid, p. 195; Muslim Zamindars in Talgram in Sarkar Lannauj, Ibid p. 195; Shaikhzadah, Farruli Afghan Zamindars in Lannauj, Ibid p. 196; Sayyid Zamindars in Sorson, Sayyid Zamindars in Shikarour, the Shaikhzadah and Afghan Zamindars in Sarkat Moil, Ibid, p. 292; Afghan Zamindars in Ilpat, Sarkar Delhi, Ibid, p. 292; Shaikhzadah Zamindars in Lodaon, Ibid, p. 293; the Sayyid zamindars in Amrorah, Ibid, p. 294; Shaikhzadah Zamindars in Karabpur, Ibid, p. 295; Sayyid Zamindars in Lidauli, in Subah Delhi, Ibid, p. 296.

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and also with an increase in his military obligations. As regards, the ordinary troops, we do not have any precise information as to how much he used to get. It is very difficult to say any thing with regard to the average income of the merchants, physicians, lawyers, brokers, etc. In Do Gau Baisnav Ji Varta, we find a reference with regard to the daily income of a broker. According to it a broker earned twelve annas per day out of which he used to spend four annas and saved the rest. The shop keepers had a good income. According to Pelsaert, "Whatever he may be in spices, drugs, fruit, cotton goods, cloth or anything else the shop-keeper is held in greater respect than the workman". But most of the merchants and traders used to conceal their income. Being afraid of falling a prey to the jealousy and greed of the official class they never disclosed their income.

1. "Hindu (1908)" Vol. I, p. 103; Journal, op. cit. p. 112-114; Selected Documents of Shahjahan's reign, p. 2-3; 13-20, 74, 113; Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p. 15; William Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 154; Athar Shi, Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p. 43, 75; Pelsaert, p. 74; Peter Hardy, Vol. II, p. 63, 139; Mansingh, Vol. II, p. 155-56; Irfan Habib, Potentialities of capitalist development in the economy of Mughal India Inquiry 1971, Vol. I, p. 30-31; Mansucci, Vol. II, p. 374-375.

2. Do Gau Bawan Vaishnav Ji Varta, Vol. II, p. 193.

3. Do Gau Bawan Vaishnav Ji Varta, Vol. I, p. 401.

4. Pelsaert, p. 63.

5. Do Gau Bawan Vaishnav Ji Varta, Vol. I, p. 401, Vol. II, p. 31; Do Lael, p. 90; Terry, p. 326; Jernier, p. 223-224.

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income. The physician also had a roaring practice. The renowned
physicians who attended upon the royal family used to get not
only rewards in cash but also pensions. The teachers, it seems

1. Dr. Banawan Vaishnav in Varta, Vol. II, p. 242, 361, 386;
During the reign of Amber, alien men deprived the Jauharis
of their wealth. The event has been mentioned by Banarsi
as in these words:

चौराबाद नगर हो गयो, रहा जौनपुर बीच मस्यो ।
मिपता उदै महे इस बीच, पुर हाकिम नाना कटीच ॥
तिन पकरे सब जौहरी दिए कोठरी माहि ।
बड़ी वस्तु मागे कहु सो तो हन पै नाहि ॥
एक दिवसे तिनको पकरि कियो हुकुम उठि मोर ।
बाधि-बाधि सब जौहरी, गड़े किए ज्या चोर ॥
उने कटीले कोरडे कोने मुक्त समान ।
दिए होइ तिस बार तिन बार निज-निज धान ॥

See, Archa Katha, p. 2.

Later the jewellers and merchants were coerced by Asa Nur,
an Imperial officer, Banarsi class mentions:

आगातुर झनाखी और जौनपुर बीच ।
कियो उदगल बहुत नर मारे कार जयमीच ॥
एक नाटक पकरे सब जहिया कोठीवाल ।
हड़ी बाल सराफ नर जौहरी और दलाल ॥
काहु मारे कोरडा काहु बड़ी पाय ।
काहु राधे भाणसी सब को देय सजाय ॥

See Archa Katha, p. 33

2. Elliot and Dawson, Vol. VI, p. 112; also see, L. Mahesh
Shyam "Honours, ranks and titles under the Great Emperors"
(Mahajan) (unpublished paper)

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that never used to get more than what they required. The
Miyasthas employed in administrative services, used to earn
a great deal. There are references in contemporary literature
about the extent of their income. Some of them were rich.
There is a reference in Do Sau Bawan Vaishnav Ki Varna that
a Miyastha of Jaipur donated twenty five thousand rupees
2
to a Vaishnav temple. As regards the Zamindars and Jagirdars,
their main source of income was a share in the revenue
besides a share in the illegal exactions or acquisitions.
Apart from it they used to hold the land, carried on cultiva-
tion either themselves or through their agents and thus, this
3
used to be their another source of income.

The 'Ain gives a long list of wages paid to the
artisans engaged in different crafts and vocations in Akbar's
time. The Gilkars (workers in lime) used to get 7 dams, 6 dams
and five dams per day. The Sanctarash (stone masons) used
used to get different wages, depending upon the skill involved
in the work. The tracer used to get 6 dams, one who did the
plain work used to get 5 dams and a labourer employed in

1. Iuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I, p. 6

2. Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 227, 252; Do Sau Bawan Vaishnav Ki Varna, Vol. I, p. 332.

3. Palsaert, p. 54; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 86, 189; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 155-56; Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 69-70; Athar Ali, " Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p. 84.

quarries used to get 22 ditals for breaking one maund of stone. The first class carpenter got 7 dams, the second class 6 dams, the third 4 dams, and the fourth 3 dams and the fifth for plain job 2 dams per day. The Pinjarsag (lattice worker); when joined the pieces got 24 dams per every square yard; when hexagonal got 18 dams; when Jafari, 16 dams, and when Chatronji 12 dams for every square yard. An Arakash used to get 2½ dams for cutting the sesam wood and for cutting razin 2 dams per square yard. The Beldars (Prick layers) of first class used to get 3½ dams, second 3 dams and if employed for constructing the fortress walls with battlements then 4 dams, per yard and for laying the foundations 2½ dams and for all other walls 2 dams; and for digging the ditch 1½ dam per yard. The Katakhor (for cleaning the wells) used to get well diggers used to get; first class 2 dams per yard, second class 1½ dams and third class 1¼ per yard. The Gotakhor (for cleaning the wells) used to get 4 dams in cold season and 3 dams in the hot season. The tile makers 3 dams and so on.

Moreland has classified the labourers in Akbar's time on the basis of the figures given in Ain and says that

1. 'Ain (mans) Vol. I, p. 235, 236, also quoted by P. S. S. Sulshreshtha, "The Development of Trade and Industry under the Mughals" (1526-1707) p. 65-66.

the value of the dag was 1 annas and 9 pies. According to him the ordinary labourer used to get 2 das per day, the superior labourers 3 to 4 das per day, the carpenters 5 to 7 das per day, and the artisans 6 to 7 das per day. Thus, the wages given to the labourers ranged from 2 das to 7 das per day.

As regards the condition and standard of living of the different sections of the Hindu-Muslim society is concerned that depended upon a large number of factors. For example, the conditions prevailing in this region, its production, its internal resources, the pressure of population on land, the surplus production, the prices prevailing in the market, and the neighbouring markets etc. etc. No wonder the condition and the standard of living of the different sections of Hindu-Muslim population differed in this region from place to place. It

1. Dr. S. C. Gulshreshtha, 'The Development of Trade and Industry Under the Mughals (1526-1707) p. 66.

2. Moreland's classification of the labourer is as follows:

Class.	Sanctioned rate	Modern Equivalent
Ordinary labourers	2 annas daily	5 annas.
Superior "	3 to 4 das daily	8 to 11 annas
Carpenters	3 to 7 das "	8 to Rs. 1-4
Builders	5 to 7 das "	14 to Rs. 1-4

See 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 235. Moreland, "India at the Death of Akbar, p. 191; Dr. S. C. Gulshreshtha, op. cit, p. 66; Moreland, 'From Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 194.

could never be the same in each and every class in a particular time. It was always subject to change. The degree of change was dependent upon several factors. As far as the upper classes were concerned, they led a luxurious life. They possessed a quite monetary resources to satisfy their personal desires and to maintain large establishments. The contemporary writers and foreign travellers have spoken highly about the affluence of this class.¹ It is needless to cite examples from them. The

1. Polsonet, while mentioning about the rich, says, "Their manners are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, intemperance, reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride, and momentary faintness.... Sometimes while they (the nobles) think they are exalted to a seat in heaven, an envious report to the king may cast them down to the depths of woe. Very few of them, however, think of the future, but they enjoy themselves, to the uttermost while they can. As a rule they have three or four wives, the daughters of worthy men, but the senior wife commands most respect. All live together in the enclosure surrounded by high walls, which is called mahal, having tanks and gardens inside. Each wife has separate apartments for herself and her slaves, of whom there may be 10 or 20 or 100, according to her fortune. Each has a regular monthly allowance for her expenses (expensiture). Jewels and clothes are provided by the husband according to the extent of his affection. Their food comes from one kitchen, but each wife takes it in her own apartments; for they hate each other secretly; though they seldom or never allow it to be seen, because of their desire to retain the favour of their husband, whom they fear, honour, and worship, as a God rather than a man. Each night he visits a particular wife or mahal and receives a very warm welcome from her and from slaves, who, dressed specially for the occasion, seem to fly, rather than run, about their duties. If it is the hot weather, they undress the husband as soon as he comes in and rub his body with pounded sandalwood and rosewater or some other scented and cooling oil. Fans are kept going steadily in the room, or in the open air, where they usually sit. Some of the slaves clasp the master's hands and feet; some sit and sing or play music and dance, or provide other recreation, the wife sitting next him all the time. They study night and day how to make exciting perfumes and efficacious preserves, such as mosseri or falanj containing amber, pearls, gold, opium and other stimulants; but these are mostly for their own use, for they eat them occasionally in the day time, because they produce a pleasant elevation of spirit. (continued

currency under the Mughals was highly and distinguished apart from their salary on J. Ir, some of the nobles had other sources of income. They carried on trade and commerce and even maintained arkhans. Besides, the members of the royal family and the nobles, there were others such as Hindu chiefs, Jaminars and Jalidars, whose standard of life was also very high.

We have very little information about the general standard of living of the commoners. If the stray references are collected and put together an idea could be had about it. Those who were engaged in trade and commerce i.e. the mercantile

(continued)

In the cool of the evening, they drink a great deal of wine, for the women learn the habit quickly from their husbands and drinking has become very fashionable in the last few years. The husband sits like a golden cock among the wife's hens until mid night or until passion or drink sends him to bed. Then if one pretty slave girl takes his fancy, he calls her to him and enjoys her, his wife not daring to show any signs of displeasure but dissembling, though she will take it out of the slave girl later on. "Jahanir's India" p. 64-65; "The East", p. 91-93; Bernier, p. 213-15; 233, 246, 243, 247; Fryer, Vol. I, p. 328; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 351-353; Muhammed Yasin, A Special History of Islamic India, p. 35-36; Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 270-2; India at the death of Akbar, p. 261; Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, p. 161-70; Peter Lundt, Vol. II, p. 26, 189; Henrique, Vol. II, p. 155-56; Careri, Indian Travels of Careri, p. 147.

1. Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 67-69; 106; Athar Ali, op. cit., p. 157-58, 167-68; Palsant, p. 54; Bernier, p. 246, 243; Irfan Habib, "Potentialities of capitalist development in the economy of Mughal India, Enquiry, Vol. III, p. 31.

1. Generali Dase mentions about the manner in his father became wealthy. It says: _____

Archa Antio. 2.11

See Arch. Anth., p. 16; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 384; ornier, p. 200, 221; Pal'spart, p. 63; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 96; Morales, India at the Death of Akbar, p. 274-75

3. For references about shroffs and bankers, see, English Factories, 1622, p. 13, 24; English Factories, 1651-54, p. 80; English Factories, 1642-44, p. 332-33; English Factories, 1610-21, p. 236, 247-48; 253; English Factories, 1946-50, p. 220, 276, 301.

5. Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 24, 28, 29, 30; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 354; Palseert, p. 78; Hawkins, Early Travels, p. 11; Lewide Ahlton Haqvi, "Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India," p. 62; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 354; Irfan Habib, The system of Bills of Exchange (Hundi) in Mughal Empire, "Paper read at the Indian History Congress, Muzaffarpur, 1972; Manucci, Vol. I, p. 241; Handels, "Travels in Western India (1638-39)" p. 27-28. En. lish Factories, 1618-21 p. 236, 329. English Factories, 1655-60, p. 18, 19; Peter Hundy, Vol. II, p. 29

¹
merchants on whom the wealthy merchants owned immense wealth and fortunes.
Some of these wealthy merchants had strong credit and they
commanded great influence in public. The native merchants
generally lived at Sikandra, a part of the town of Agra,
situated on the other side of the river and the main business
²
centre. However, it must be admitted that this was a wealthy
³
on a proportioned class.

The brokers, who constituted an indispensable link
in the chain of business ~~of~~ organisation operated business
transactions on behalf of the wealthy merchants and the whole
sale dealers. They were to be found in most important centres of
trade and commerce in this region. They were employed on wage
⁵
basis and were given sometimes ten to twenty rupees per month.
More often they used to charge the commissions from the both
⁶
parties at both ends. Hence, they lead an ordinary life.

1. Palsaert, p.76

2. Palsaert, p.4.

3. Mentioning about the condition of the merchants, Palsaert writes "whatever he may deal in-spices, drugs, fruit, cotton goods, cloth, or anything else- the shopkeeper is held in greater respect than the workman, and some of them are even well to do; but they must not let the fact be seen; or they will be victims of a trumped up charge, and whatever they have will be confiscated in legal form, because informers swarm like flies round the governors, and make no difference between the friends and enemies, perjuring themselves when necessary in order to remain in favour." See, Jahangir's India, p.63 .

4. English Factories, 1637-41, p.13; English Factories, 1646-5 p.220, 276, 301; Palsaert, p.78.

5. Peter Mundy, Vol.II, p.79; Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, op.cit. p.6

6. English Factories, 1651-54, p.112; Tavernier, Vol.II, p.32 Naqvi, op.cit. p.64; Bernier, p.245.

As regards the other sections of the middle class, we do not have complete information about their standard of living. So far as the lower strata of society was concerned it lived almost amidst poverty and misery due to the fact that it was constantly exploited by the upper classes of society and was left with bare subsistence of life.

Palsaert has mentioned about the poverty of the commoners. He writes, "the rich in their great superfluity and absolute power and utter subjection and poverty of the common people-poverty so great and miserable that the life of the people can be depicted or accurately described only as the home of stark want and dwelling place of bitter woe. Nevertheless, the people endure patiently, professing that they do not deserve anything better and scarcely any one will make effort, for a ladder by which to climb higher is hard to find, because a workman's children can follow no occupation other than that of their father, nor can they inter marry with any other caste.

There are three classes of people who are indeed nominally free, but whose status differs very little from voluntary slavery-workmen, peons or servants and shop keepers. For the workman there are two scourges, the first of which is low wages. Goldsmiths, painters, embroiderers, carpet-makers, cotton or silk weavers, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, tailors, masons, builders, stone cutters, a hundred crafts in all, for a

1. Palsaert, p. 60; Tulsi Dass, Kavitawali, Chandra, p. 100; 108; Ramayana, p. 580, 581, 582, 583; Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 83, 263-64.

job which one man would do in Holland here passes through four men's hands before it is finished, -any of these by working from morning to night can earn only 5 or 6 talas, that is 4 to 5 stivers in wages. The second (scourge) is (the oppression of) the governors, the nobles, the Miran, the Ismail, the Balashi and other royal officers. If any of these wants a workman, the man is not asked if he is willing to come, but is seized in the house or in the street, well beaten if he should dare to raise any objection, and in the evening paid half his wages or nothing at all. From these facts the nature of their food can easily be inferred. They know little of the taste of meat. For their monotonous daily food they have nothing but a little Michri, made of green pulse mixed with rice, which is cooked with water over a little fire until the moisture has evaporated, and eaten next with butter in the evening, in any time they munch a little parched pulse or other grain, which they say suffices for their lean stomachs.

Their houses are built of mud with thatched roofs. Furniture there is little or none, except some earthenware pots to hold water and for cooking; and two beds, one for the man, the other for his wife; for here man and wife do not sleep together, but the man calls his wife when he wants her in the night, and when he has finished she goes back to her own place or bed. Their bed clothes are scanty, merely a sheet, or perhaps, two, serving both as under and over-sheet; this is sufficient in hot weather, but the bitter cold nights are miserably indeed, and they try to keep warm over little cow dung fire which are lit

outside the doors, because the houses have no fire places or chimneys;.....

Peons or servants are exceedingly numerous in this country, for everyone-be he mounted soldier, merchant or king's official- keeps as many as his position and circumstances permit. Outside the house, they serve for display, running continually before their master's horse, inside, they do the work of the house, each knowing his own duties. The taziurwardar attends only to his horse, the bailwan or carter to his cart and oxen; the farrash or tent pitcher, attends to his tent on the way, spreads carpets, both on the march and in his house, and looks after the diwan khana or sitting room; masalchi, or torch bearer, looks to his torch, and lights lamps and candles in the evening; the sarwan camel driver, looks to his camel; and there are two or three mahawats or attendants to each elephant according to its size. The santel or messenger, a plume on his head and two bells on his belt, runs at a steady pace, ringing the bells; they carry their master's letters a long distance in short time.....

For this slack and lazy service the wages are paid by the Moguls only after large deductions, for most of the great lords reckon 40 days to the month, and pay from 3 to 4 rupees for that period; while wages are often left several months in arrears, and then paid in worn-out clothes or other things.

1. Palsnoort op.cit, p.60-62.

The condition and standard of living of different sections of the society in the rural and urban areas of the region under review is reflected in their food habits, clothing and houses." The common people" declared the Dutch observer during the reign of Jahangir," live in poverty so great and miserable that the life of the people can be depicted or accurately described only as the home of stark want and the dwelling place of the bitter woe". This is true with regard to the lower sections of the Hindu-Muslim society but is not correct in case of the upper and middle classes of the two communities. The eating habits of the upper classes and middle classes were quite different from those of the members of lower strata of society in this region.

1. Palseert, p.60; Irfan Habib, The Aurangzeb System of Mughal India, p.90-110.

2. With regard to the food of the commoners Palseert writes "They know little of taste of meat. For their monotonous daily food they have nothing but a little lichri made of green pulse mixed with rice, which is cooked with water over a little fire until the moisture has evaporated and eaten hot with butter in the evening, in the day time they munch a little parched pulse or other grain, which suffices for their lean stomachs. Jahangir's India, p.60-61; Mentioning about the food of the rich, Palseert writes, "the food consists of birinj, aeshalia, pollaeo (yellow, red, green or black), zuela, duplaza, also roast meat and various other good courses served on very large dishes with too little butter and too much spice for our taste." Ibid, p.68; For details about this subject see, Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p.271-73.; Manucci, Vol. III, p.41-42; III, p.42-46; R. Pinch, Early Travels, p.19; Crooks, Islam in India, p.315-330; Muhammad Yasin, Social History of Islamic India, p.36-37; P.N. Chopra, Some Aspects of Society and Culture during the Mughal Age, p.32-54; P.N. Ojha, Some Aspects of North Indian Social Life, p.1-17; Ain (trans) Vol. I, p.59-60; Monserate, p.8; Dernier, p.250-51; Palseert, p.68; Manucci, II, p.332; Leshav Das, Sam Chandra, p.151.

So far as the low income group was concerned it could never afford to have rich and costly food. According to Palsaert the poor people ate Bajra, Jawar, rice and Mugaui etc. At other place while mentioning about the miserable condition of the people he says, "every day bread is scarcely left to fill their stomach". Generally the people of low income group ate coarse grain, millet, pulses, rice, vegetables¹ e.c, if available.

Incidentally it may be pointed out that there was vast difference between the food habits of the Muslims and Hindus of the upper classes² and of the lower classes and of the people inhabiting in the rural or urban areas.³

Although there is little information about the dwellings of the members of the upper classes but on the basis of available information it can be said at the outset that they were spacious, large, and strongly built. The palaces and havelis were big buildings with large number of apartments which were used as drawing rooms, bed rooms, and for other

1. Palsaert, p.48-54.

2. Palsaert, p.67; Bernier, p.381; Peter Mundy, Vol.II..91; Manucci, Vol.III, p.41-43; Keshav Dass, Sam Chandrika, p.151; Ralph Finch, p.14, 19; Manucci, Vol.II, p.42-43; Terry, Early Travels, p.103; K.M.Ashraf, Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan p.184; P.N.Chopra, "Some Aspects of Society and Culture during the Mughal Age(1626-1707)".39; P.N.Ojha, "Some Aspects of North Indian Social Life(1656-1707)" p.2-8.

3. Bernier, p.249; Kichiri was the most popular fish of the lower classes. Della Valle, Vol.II, p.409; Tavernier, Vol.II, p.124; Palsaert, p.48, 60; De Laet, p.89; P.N.Chopra, "Some Aspects of Society and Culture during the Mughal Age." p.37; Moreland, "India at the death of Akbar", p.271; Terry, Early Travels, p.324-25; Ain(Trans) Vol.I, p.59-60; J.Xavier(Trans, Hostan, Jn45, 1927) p.121; Irfan Habib op.cit., p.91-94; W.Crooks, "N...Provinces, of India", p.272.

purposes. In most of the urban centres we come across such buildings which were built by the members of the upper classes in use for residential purposes. While describing the houses of the nobles, Palsaert mentions, "their Mahals are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality and reckless festivity of superfluous pomp."² The buildings of the nobles were

1. Bernier 247-48; Palsaert mentions about the mahals or palaces of the ladies of the imperial family e.g. palace of Mariyam Makani wife of Akbar and mother of Jahan¹² as well as three other palaces or mahals named Itwar, Hangel and Sanichar and also Bengali Mahal. See, Jahangir's India, p.3, 4, 5, 67; Ashraf, Pass, am Chandrika, p.124-27; Peter Hundy, Vol.II, p.191; Purchas and His Pilgrims, Vol.IV, p.329; R. Manserrate; 97; A. H. Ashraf, op.cit. p.171; P. N. Ojha, Some Aspects of North Indian Social Life, p.19-20; Muhammad Yasin, A Social History of Islamic India, p.35-6; Mrs. Savitri Chandra, op.cit. p.11.

2. Palsaert, mentions about the houses of some of the great nobles, such as Mirza Abdullah son of Khan Azam, Agha Nur Johan Khan, Mirza Khurram, Khan Alam, Raja Darath Singh of late Raja Nan Singh, and Raja Madho Singh. He writes that, "they are noble pleasant with many apartments, but there is not much in the way of an upper story, except flat roof, on which to enjoy the evening air. There are usually gardens and tanks inside the house; and in the hot weather the tanks are filled with fresh water drawn by Oxen from wells... These houses last for years only because the walls are built with mud instead of mortar but the white plaster of walls is very noteworthy and far superior to anything in our country. See, Jahangir's India, p.66-67.

Travernier mentions that, "the houses of the nobles are beautiful and well built, but those of private persons have nothing fine about them," Vol.II, p.106. In Benaras he saw well built houses of brick and cut stone and more lofty than those of other towns in India. See, Vol.II, p.118.

While according to Thevenot, "the ordinary houses are low and those of the commoners sort of people or but straw." See, Indian Travels of Thevenot, p.49.

surrounded by gardens, fountains etc and the whole of the area was enclosed by a boundary wall. The buildings or the houses of the merchants used to be quite big but smaller than those of the nobles.

The houses of the middle class and lower middle class people in the urban areas were commodious and comfortable. But in the rural areas only the thatched houses without any ventilation were mostly seen by the foreign travellers, who have given a vivid account of such thatched houses in their diaries or reports.

1. Dernier, p.242; Peter Mundy, Vol.II, p.191; Purchas, Vol.IV, 329; Palsaert, p.4-5; Thevenot, p.47; Muhammad Yasin, op.cit.p.35-6.

2. Fr.Monserrate, p.97; Dernier, p.246; Palsaert, p.66-67; Terry, Early Travels, p.311; P.N.Ojha, op.cit.p.20-21; William Finch, p.182, 186; Yusuf Husain Khan, op.cit.p.197.

3. Ralph Fitch mentions, "the houses are simple, made of earth and covered with straw." Early Travels in India, p.23. While according to Palsaert, These houses are built of mud and thatched roofs. See, Jahangir's India, p.61; Dernier also refers to the thatched and mud built houses of Delhi. See, p.246. Manucci describes in details about such houses of the Hindu commoners which had little or no furniture, plastered with cow dung to sit and lie on. See, Storia, Vol.III, p.40-41; For other references see, Fr.Monserrate, Commentary, p.219; Peter Mundy, Vol.II, p.93, 97; Tavernier, Vol.I, p.262, Vol.II, p.49; T.A.A.Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol.III, p.192; William Finch, Early Travels in India, p.176-9; Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p.272; De Laet, p.81; Mrs.Savitri Chandra, op.cit.p.10-11.

In matters of dresses also there were differences between the dresses of the upper classes and lower classes, both in the rural and urban areas of the region under review. Besides, the dresses of the Hindus were different from the Muslims. The dresses worn by the sovereign were rich and costly both in they were of silk, velvets, brocade and thus costly dresses. From the time Babur down to the reign of ¹ Aurangzeb we find that the new dresses were made from time to time to make fresh additions in the dresses of the royal wardrobe. Besides, their own dresses and costumes such as ulbancha, qaba and ² Shalwars, the nobles, if honoured by the Emperor used to make use of different varieties of chilats, Baroga, jackets, silk coats, under-coats, etc. The muslim nobles usually used to put on kurtas, jacket, coat, tight pyjama together with other clothes. The dresses of the Hindu nobles were a

1. Ain(Trans)Vol.I, p.93-94; M. Ashraf, op.cit. p.176; P.N. Chopra, op.cit, p.3; P.N. Jha, op.cit. p.24; Ferishta, p.201-3; Crooks, Islam in India, p.300; Ralph Pitch, p.99; Manucci, Vol.II, p.342; Muhammad Yasin, Social History of Islamic India, p.38-39.

2. Janun-i-Humayuni (Trans) p.50; Ain(Trans)Vol.I, p.36; Fr. Monserrate, p.193; Della Valle, p.456; Bernier, p.402-403; P.N. Chopra, op.cit, p.3; P.N. Jha, op.cit. p.24; Manucci, II, p.342; Vol.III, p.39; Hevenot, Indian Travels of Hevenot, p.51. Muhammad Yasin, op.cit. p.38-39.

3. Ain(Trans)Vol.I, p.88-90; Della Valle, p.410-11; Padraoni (Trans)Vol.II, ~~p.223-224; P.N. Jha, op.cit. p.24; Manucci, II, p.342;~~ p.268; Manrique Vol.II, p.198, 225; Bernier, p.268; Manucci, Vol.III, p.38-39; Ashav Pals Kavi Priya, p.9-14; Peter Mundy, Vol.II, p.216;

little different. There were some nobles who had adopted the dresses of the Muslims and dressed themselves like muslims.¹ So far as the general masses were concerned they used to put on a dhoti and a garment to cover the upper part of the body.²

Women's dresses were not less varied than those of men. The common female dress consisted of a saree or dhoti and an angiya or small blouse or jacket. The saree was wrapped round the waist downwards and thrown over the head. Babar was struck by this dress and he has mentioned that the women of this region put on a cloth, one end of which goes round the waist and thrown to the head. Lahanga or a loose skirt and choli was also very popular in this region. unatta was

1. De Laet, p.80-81; Della Valle, Vol. II, p.410; Manucci, Vol. II, p.39; Keshav Das, Kavi Priva, p.141; P.N. Chopra, op.cit, p.6; P.N. Ojha, op.cit, p.30.

2. B.N. , p.516; Palsner, p.61; Travernier, Vol. I, p.391; Letters Received by East India Company, Vol. I, p.187; 209; Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p.274; Della Valle, Vol. II, p.456; Ralph Pitch, p.107; Foster, Early Travels in India, p.22; Yusuf Hussain, op.cit, p.130; P.N. Ojha, op.cit, p.31; P.N. Chopra, op.cit, p.2; Keshav Das, Kavi Priva, p.169; Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p.95; Thevenot, Indian Travels of Thevenot, p.53.

3. Ain (Trans Vol. III, p.342; Della Valle, Vol. II, p.214; Keshav Das, Kavi Priva, p.20; Ram Chandrila, p.109; ...; Ashraf, 'Life and condition of people of Hindustan', p.213; Yusuf Hussain, 'Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture', p.133; P.N. Ojha; Some aspects of North Indian Social Life, p.33; P.N. Chopra, "Some aspects of society and culture during the Mughal era", p.11; Manucci Vol. III, p.341, III, p.40.

4. B.N. Vol. II, p.518; A.L. Srivastava, "Akbar the Great" Vol. III, p.197; 198; Manucci, Vol. III, p.40

1
sometimes used to cover the head. Chakhra was also very popular in the western region of Uttar Pradesh in those times. Besides these dresses the other dresses which were commonly used by the Hindu and Muslim women in the different parts of this region were Silwars, sarees, with half length sleeves, shawls etc. The dresses of the Muslim women chiefly comprise of pyjamas, shalwars, made of fine wool and suit with half length sleeves.

As regards the dress of upper class Muslim women was concerned it was slightly different. The dresses worn by them used to be costly and gorgeous. Nurjahan had discovered new varieties of brocades and laces and new cut and designs, besides new dresses, such as Tur Kabali, Budami, Panch Chutla, Farsh-i-Chandini, Lugah Lineri etc. It was rather a fashion to wear the sock or stocking. Women of upper classes used to put

1. Ain(Trans) Vol.III, p.342; P.N.Chopra, op.cit. p.36; The Last p.80-81.

2. 'Ain(Trans) Vol.I, p.96; Vol.III, p.342; Manucci, Vol.II, p.341; Della Valle, Vol.II, p.242; P.N.Chopra, op.cit. p.13; P.N.Chopra, op.cit. p.37; Yusuf Husain, op.cit. p.133; The Last, p.80-81.

3. Ashraf, 'Life and condition of people of Hindustan' p.213; Mohd. Yasin, op.cit. p.40.

4. 'Ain(Trans) Vol.I, p.96; Della Valle, Vol.II, p.242; Manucci Vol.II, p.241; Ashraf, op.cit. p.213; Yussuf Thevenot 'India Travels of Thevenot' p.53; Yusuf Husain, op.cit. p.133; P.N.Chopra, op.cit. p.113-14; P.N.Chopra, op.cit. p.37.

5. Khafi Khan, Vol.I, p.269; 'Ain(Trans) Vol.I, p. ; Leni Pressed, 'History of Jahangir', p.183; P.N.Chopra, op.cit. p.14; P.N.Chopra, op.cit. p.37-38.

on shoes or slippers of various styles ornamented with silver
or gold threads.¹

Women of this region were more particular about
the toilets and ornaments than men. Abul Fazi has given a
detailed list of sixteen constituents of women's toilets.²

WOMEN'S TOILETS. These details are also found in

several other contemporary works

such as Meshav Nass's Navj Priya, Manzil Chander, Deet, of vija
Madhava and in the accounts of the foreign travellers.⁴

1. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 341, Vol. III, p. 40; Bernier, p. 240; P.N.
Chopra, op.cit., p. 14-15; P.N. Chopra, op.cit., p. 33.

2. According to Abul Fazi, women were adorned by sixteen
things-(1) Bathing (2) Anointing with oil, (3) Ridding the hair
(4) Adorning the crown of her head with jewels-(5) Anointing
with sandal wood unguent (6) the wearing of crosses and these
are of various kinds (7) sectarian marks of caste, and often
decked with pearls and golden ornaments (8) Anointing with lamp-
black like collyrium (9) wearing ear rings (10) Anointing with
nose rings of pearls and gold (11) Wearing ornaments in neck
(12) Anointing with garlands of flowers and pearls (13) Anointing
hands (14) wearing a belt hung with small bells (15) Decorating
the feet with gold ornaments (16) Latin Pan-See, 'Hindus'
Vol. III, p. 342-43.

3. Meshav Nass, Navj Priya, p. 40; Mushan, p. 11; Manzil Deet,
p. 125-23; L.L. Prasad, "Akbar the Great", Vol. III, p. 139;
P.N. Jha, op.cit., p. 46; P.N. Chopra, op.cit., p. 22; M. Ashraf,
op.cit., p. 217; Yusuf Hussain, op.cit., p. 134; Moh. Hussain, "A Social
History of Islamic India", p. 41; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 340; Peter Pan
Vol. II, p. 86-87, Chevenet p. 52.

4. Manucci, Vol. III, p. 40; P.N. Chopra, op.cit., p. 13; P.N. Jha
op.cit., p. 46.

U. L. S.

It was also very common for men to wear ornaments in ear, neck and arms.¹

But it depended upon the income of the person and his choice, taste and the local customs.

Generally the women were deprived of their privileges of playing an active and constructive role in society. Their status was subordinate to the men and they always remained dependent on their parents before marriage and after marriage on their husbands. In case of being a widow, her only duty was to do service to the in-laws and please them. Women was considered as main-rul as person of feeble brain and not to be trusted too far in the things that U. L. S. ² U. L. S. ³ U. L. S. ⁴ U. L. S. ⁵ U. L. S. ⁶ U. L. S. ⁷ U. L. S. ⁸ U. L. S. ⁹ U. L. S. ¹⁰ U. L. S. ¹¹ U. L. S. ¹² U. L. S. ¹³ U. L. S. ¹⁴ U. L. S. ¹⁵ U. L. S. ¹⁶ U. L. S. ¹⁷ U. L. S. ¹⁸ U. L. S. ¹⁹ U. L. S. ²⁰ U. L. S. ²¹ U. L. S. ²² U. L. S. ²³ U. L. S. ²⁴ U. L. S. ²⁵ U. L. S. ²⁶ U. L. S. ²⁷ U. L. S. ²⁸ U. L. S. ²⁹ U. L. S. ³⁰ U. L. S. ³¹ U. L. S. ³² U. L. S. ³³ U. L. S. ³⁴ U. L. S. ³⁵ U. L. S. ³⁶ U. L. S. ³⁷ U. L. S. ³⁸ U. L. S. ³⁹ U. L. S. ⁴⁰ U. L. S. ⁴¹ U. L. S. ⁴² U. L. S. ⁴³ U. L. S. ⁴⁴ U. L. S. ⁴⁵ U. L. S. ⁴⁶ U. L. S. ⁴⁷ U. 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life was full of sacrifice and self denial¹; that she was expected to be loyal and devoted to her husband and the members of his family and her parents.² Both in the urban and in the rural areas the surdh system though kept women aloof from the outside world but they never failed to share the work of their husbands. It is true that in the urban centres the Hindu and Muslim women were kept within the four walls and that they did not enjoy the liberty of moving freely in the world outside but this does not mean that they had no freedom inside.³ The women in the rural areas, despite several social restrictions⁴ freely shared the work of their husbands. Looking from the modern standard the women of those days enjoyed moderate status.

The immoral traffic in women was one of the recognised vices of Hindu-Muslim society. The poor girls were sold by their poor parents. The upper classes irrespective of their religious beliefs indulged in the pleasures of wine,

1. Manoharitmannag, p.103, 331.

2. Manoharitmannag, p.369, 370; Adya Dyal Ji Dahi, p. 94, 96; Keshav Dass, Ram Chandri, p.134; 135; P.N.Ojha, op.cit. p.136.

3. Ladaoni, Vol.II, p.391, 392, 404, 405; Jaisi, Padmavati, p.109; Pelsaert, p.64; Ellis Valle, p.411; Praverrier, Vol.I, p.125; Manucci, Vol.II, p.354; P.N.Chopra, op.cit. p.109, 110; M.Ashraf op.cit. p.138, 139. De Laet, p.80; Thevenot, p.53; Yusuf Husain, op. p.129; P.N.Ojha, op.cit. p.133.

4. Ain-i-Akbari Vol.III, p.341; De Laet, p.86; Thevenot, p.117; Careri, p.248; Manucci, Vol.III, p.71; Pelsaert, p.64; Peter Lunkay Vol.II, p.192; Finch, 'Early Travels', p.181; Ellis Valle, p.434; P.N.Chopra, op.cit. p.112.

women and music, dice, gambling, prostitution were the
main vices in the society.¹ the common vices prevalent in
 the Hindu-Muslim society. ² vice and immorality was completely
 forbidden. ³ adultery was very common. In concubines, courtesans
 and the public women were popular in the upper class society.
 For the aristocratic families they were considered to be most
 essential. As soon as they were responsible for many vices,
 which were prevalent in the society.

Family was a major institution of domestic life.
 it was even above the church and state. The domestic life
 itself centered round family. In Hindu-Muslim families,
 preference was given to sons over daughters. From the birth
 of the child to the death, both the communities observed
 certain customs and ceremonies. There was not much difference

1. Bernier, p. 273, 274; Anucci, vol. I, p. 190; Levenot, p. 71;
 Desky Best, Devi Prayag, p. 41, 42; ... op. cit. p. 223;
 Anucci, vol. III, p. 60.

2. Min (Trans) vol. I, p. 277; Nizamuddin Ahmed, Tabakat-i
Akbari (Trans) vol. II, p. 616; ... op. cit. p. 121; 343.

3. Levenot, p. 30-31; P. S. Desai, p. 64; Anucci, vol. II, p. 332;
 ... op. cit. p. 300-302; ... op. cit. p. 312; Bernier, p. 273;
 Levenot, p. 31; ... op. cit. p. 200;
 General Des Jolin, Arch. Ind., p. 20-21; ... op. cit. p. 174.

4. ... op. cit. p. 164; ... op. cit. p. 201-202;
Akbar the Great, vol. III, p. 50; Min (Trans) vol. III, p. 201-202;

5. ... op. cit. p. 165; Hakim Muhammad Yasin, Social Hist.
of Islamic India, p. 62;

among the customs and ceremonies of the Hindus and Muslims.

The birth of a male child was considered to be the most ¹ important event in society.

ON MARRIAGE. After the birth of a child astrologers were called to prepare horoscope of the child. This was followed by great rejoicings and festivities. At the sixth day the Shraddi or purificatory rite was performed and on the twelfth day another important ceremony called Garhman was performed. This was followed by namakar and antakar ² sanskars. At the age of five the upnayan and then the Yagopavit ³ sanskars and then the en ⁴ en marriage was performed. After the death, the last rites were ⁵ performed in accordance with the customs of the ⁶

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1. Jaisi, Padmavat, p.323; General's see Jain, op.cit.
 2. Jaisi, Padmavat, p.334; A. A. Chaitanya, p.124; Muhammad Yasin, op.cit, p.62; A. A. Chaitanya, op.cit, p.101;
 3. Brooks, Islam in India, p.35.
 4. A. A. Chaitanya Vol.I, p.104; A. A. Chaitanya, op.cit, p.102; A. A. Chaitanya, op.cit, p.144-45; General's see Jain, Arth Arth, p.8 Muhammad Yasin, op.cit, p.63
 5. A. A. Chaitanya Vol.II, p.133; A. A. Chaitanya, op.cit, p.207;
 6. A. A. Chaitanya Vol.I, p.107; Vol.III, p.327-341; A. A. Chaitanya, p.16; Peter Hardy, Vol.II, p.170-80; Chaitanya, p.149, 149; Chaitanya (Trans) II, p.331-34; Chaitanya, p.36; Chaitanya, p.117; A. A. Chaitanya, Arth Arth, Vol.III, p.449; A. A. Chaitanya, op.cit, p.109; A. A. Chaitanya, p.133; Chaitanya in the Arth Arth, the Hindus perform the marriage their children at the age of four or five years and if the boy dies, the girl or bride can not marry again but if as a The son in the other hand may marry as often they choose; their wives die; and old men have to marry children because there are no grown up maidens to be found. See, Chaitanya's (contd)

¹
family.

Among the Muslims also the birth of the male child was celebrated with great pomp and show. This was followed by Hesar an Utera an ² Aizab ceremonies.

³
The marriage among the Muslims was a contract. The proposals of marriage was always sent from the side of bride-groom. After the acceptance of the proposal a large number of pre-marriage ceremonies used to take place. The marriage was always celebrated with great pomp and show. ⁴ Again after the death, the Muslims buried the dead body, observed Siyam and ⁵ Chelish, the two important mourning ceremonies.

(contd) In Ind, p.84; Muhammad Yasin, op.cit, p.64; Manucci, Vol.III, p.54-55; 56-61; 61-66; 66-69; 69-71; Edward Terry, Early Travels in India, p.320; Crooks, Islam in India, p.56-57. Dadarshi Das mentions:

करी सगाई पुत्र की कीर्ती तिलक लगाट,
बरण दीय उपरान्त लग्न लग्न व्याह की ठाट ॥

See, Arch Matha, p.9

1. Tavernier, Vol.II, p.231; Manucci, Vol.III, p.71; Ain (Trans) Vol.III, p.354-7; A.L.Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol.III, p.206-7; K.M.Ashraf, op.cit, p.183-4; Careri, p.249; Peter Mundy, Vol.II, p.220.

2. K.M.Ashraf, op.cit, p.177; Manucci, Vol.III, p.71-73, 154-56; Crooks, Islam in India, p.27-28, 39-40; Muhammad Yasin, op.cit, p.61.

3. K.M.Ashraf, op.cit, p.114-15; Ain (Trans) Vol.I, p.283; Crooks, Islam in India, p.56-58; Muhammad Yasin, op.cit, p.56-66; Manucci, Vol.III, 150-2.

4. Dadarshi (Trans) Vol.III, p.367; Ain (Trans) Vol.I, p.283; K.M.Ashraf, op.cit, p.144-45; P.N.Ojha, op.cit, p.133; Palisbert has given a beautiful account of the Muslim marriages of Agra. See p.81-82; Manucci, Vol.III, p.150-152; Muhammad Yasin, op.cit, p.65.

There is a large number of references in the contemporary literature that Sati was prevalent among the Hindus in the region under review in this period. The burning of widow together with her husband was common in the upper ¹ classes of Hindu society.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the society of this region was basically agricultural in its nature. The majority of population lived in villages and therefore the profession and occupation of the people was chiefly agriculture. But while carrying on agriculture they also carried on other vocations during the leisure. A large number of them manufactured baskets, ropes, or spun cotton threads or manufactured gum and sugar. Thus, a variety of professions existed in the rural and urban areas and there was no problem of unemployment in this region.

(contd) Vol.III, p.207; Manucci, Vol.III, p.153; Muhammad Yasin, op.cit, p.68; Crooks, Islam in India, p.89-100.

1. Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.367; 388; Ain (Trans) Vol.III, p.355; Thevenot, p.119; Careri, p.249, 256, 277; Bernier, p.307; Pinch, Early Travels in India, p.14, 17, 22; Hawkins, Early Travels in India, p.118, 119; De Laet, p.37; Palsaert, p.78-9; Berry, p.328-9; Sir Thomas Roe, Early Travels in India, p.105, 119; Manucci, Vol.I p.96-7; Vol.III, p.65, 66, 68; Purchas and his Pilgrims Vol.III, p.49; Peter Hundy, Vol.II, p.170-80, 221; J.N.Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol.III, p.92; P.N.Guha, op.cit, p.172; A.H.Ashraf, op.cit p.186; A.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.191-2;

2. B.N. (Trans) Vol.II, p.513; Benarsi Dass Jain, Arth Samgraha, p.31; Ain (Trans) Vol.II, p.182; A.L.Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol.III, p.70-71.

The most popular indoor games in this region were
1 2 3 4 5
chess, playing cards, chaupar, and a manual game. These
games were played both by the rich and poor. The playing cards
Al-Jamharat al-Ahwal. (Lanjifa) appears to have

been first introduced in
6
Hindustan by the Mughal Emperor Babur. Babur seems to have
made some improvements in the game which became very
7
popular. Ice throwing and playing with it was another popular
game. Gambling was by no means confined to the upper classes,

1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 320; Badayuni (Trans) Vol. III, p. 408; 468
Jaisi, Padmayani, p. 257; L.M. Ashraf, op.cit., p. 233; Manucci, Vol. II,
p. 460; P.N. Chhaya, op.cit. p. 56-7; P.N. Chopra, op.cit. p. 58; De Laet,
p. 82; Crooks, Islam in India, p. 331; Muhammad Yasin, op.cit. p. 118

2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 318-19; Sir Thomas Roe, p. 293; B.N. (Trans)
Vol. II, 584; Gulbadan Begum (Trans) p. 77; L.M. Ashraf, op.cit. p. 296;
P.N. Chopra, op.cit. p. 56-7; P.N. Chhaya, op.cit. p. 58-9; Crooks,
Islam in India, p. 333; Muhammad Yasin, op.cit. p. 118.

3. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 315; Vol. III, p. 328; A.N. (Trans) Vol. II,
p. 534; J.N. Sarkar, Studies in Mughal India, p. 82; L.M. Ashraf,
op.cit. p. 236; P.N. Chopra, op.cit. p. 56-7; P.N. Chhaya, op.cit. 58;
Crooks, Islam in India, p. 334-5; Muhammad Yasin, op.cit. p. 118.

4. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, 316-18; A.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 361; Ahwamdair
Jann-i-Badshahi, (Trans) p. 80-1; P.N. Chopra, op.cit., p. 30; P.N. Chhaya
op.cit. p. 60; Crooks, Islam in India, p. 333-34; Muhammad Yasin,
op.cit. p. 118.

5. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. III, p. 274, 290; 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 315;
Gulbadan Begum (Trans) p. 77; Tulsidas, Rajvati Mangal, p. 160. 52;
Keshav Das, Kavi Priya, p. 138; P.N. Chhaya, op.cit. p. 60-1;
Muhammad Yasin, op.cit. p. 118.

6. B.N. (Trans) Vol. I, p. 307

7. Bihari, Satsai, p. 57, 373, 428; 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 319-320;
Manucci, Vol. II, p. 460; Thomas Roe, p. 293; De Laet, p. 31; L.M. Ashraf
op.cit., p. 236; P.N. Chhaya, op.cit. p. 56; Crooks, Islam in India,
p. 333-36.

it was popular amongst the lower classes of the Hindu-Muslim society of this region.¹ Among the minor elements mention can be made of pigeon flying and cock fighting.² There were varieties of out-door games, such as Chaugan, ³hurling, ⁴expeditions, animal fights, ⁵boxing, ⁶wrestling, ⁷boat racing, and so on, etc.

1. Calcutta Magazine, Munayun Nama (Trans) p.77; Ain (Trans) Vol.III p.274, 290; Vol.I, p.315; Jaisi, Padmev., p.318-319; A.H. Ashraf, op.cit., p.236; Thevenot, p.67; P.N. Ojha, op.cit., p.61; Crooks, Islam in India, p.237; Muhammad Yasin, op.cit., p.108-9

2. Ain (Trans) Vol.I, p.310-311; Badoni (Trans) Vol.III, p.147; Manucci, Vol.I, p.66; Vol.II, p.467; 195; Thevenot, p.70; A.H. Ashraf, op.cit., p.236, 237; P.N. Ojha, op.cit., p.75; Crooks, Islam in India, p.336.

3. Ain (Trans) Vol.I, p.309; Crooks, Islam in India, p.336; A.H. Yasin, A Social History of Islamic India, p.113

4. Ain (Trans) Vol.I, p.209; Badoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.39; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II, p.315; A.H. Ashraf, op.cit., p.223; P.N. Ojha, op.cit., p.66.

5. Ain (Trans) Vol.I, p.273; 292; A.H. (Trans) Vol.II, p.369; Nizamuddin Ahmad, 'Tabqat-i-Akbari' (Trans) Vol.II, p.69, 250; De Laet, p.81; Manucci, Vol.I, p.191; Thevenot, p.252; A.H. Ashraf, op.cit., p.226, 229.

6. Badoni (Trans) Vol.II, 406; Thevenot, p.13; Pansaert, p.51; Peter Hardy, Vol.II, p.123; Bernier, p.201, 242; Manucci, Vol.I, p.192; Elliot & Dowson, Vol.VI, p.347; Della Valle, p.450; P.N. Ojha, op.cit., p.70, 73.

7. A.H. (Trans) Vol.I, p.243; Badoni (Trans) Vol.III, p.147; Ain (Trans) Vol.I, 263; Manucci, Vol.I, p.191; P.N. Ojha, op.cit., p.75.

These various outdoor games were very much popular in this region.

Drinking, smoking, music festivals and holding dinner parties were common among the members of the upper classes.

All the year round there were numerous Hindu
festivals and fairs. They were of religious and social
importance. These fairs and festivals afforded occasions
for rejoicing and merry making. Amongst the important festivals
the most prominent ones were
1. Holi, 2. Dussehra,
3. Navai, 4. Lakshabharat, 5. Dussehra, 6. Shiv Ratri.

1. Badnani (Trans) Vol. II, p. 39, 33; Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 141; 149, 150; e. loc. cit., p. 182; Monserate, p. 198; Ashraf, op. cit., p. 222; L. Prinstev, Aider the Great, Vol. III, p. 211; and 'as, "as
Charitarnas, p. 821; Terkey Pass'layi Priya, p. 197; Ikari, Matsai
p. 133; Crooks-Ikari in India, p. 37, 38.
2. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 9; Ain (Trans) Vol. III, p. 258; Badnani,
Vol. II, p. 95; e. loc. cit., p. 82; Henrique, Vol. II, p. 109; Early Travels
in India; p. 144, 155-56; P. N. Chopra, op. cit.
3. Ain (Trans) Vol. III, p. 350, 353; J. N. Sarkar, History of
Aurangzeb, Vol. V, p. 471-73; P. N. Chopra, op. cit. p. 82.
4. Ain (Trans) Vol. III, p. 353; Vol. II, p. 173; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri
(A. B.) Vol. I, p. 245; 246; Monserate, p. 23; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 219
English Factories, 1624-29, p. 246; 1634-38, p. 136; e. loc. cit., p. 57-8; J.
Ellis Valle, Vol. I, p. 122-23; Sur Pass, Sur Sagar, p. 431, P. N. Ojha,
op. cit. p. 80; P. N. Chopra, op. cit. p. 95-96.
5. Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 220; Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 210; Vol. III,
p. 305, 307, 353; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (A. B.) Vol. I, p. 345; P. N. Chopra,
op. cit. p. 98; P. N. Ojha, op. cit. p. 81 ;
6. Ain (Trans) Vol. III, p. 354, 319; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (A. B.)
Vol. I, p. 176, 245; P. N. Chopra, op. cit. p. 97; P. N. Ojha, op. cit. p. 81
7. Ain (Trans) Vol. III, p. 350; P. N. Ojha, op. cit. p. 81
8. Ain (Trans) Vol. III, p. 351; Badnani (Trans) Vol. II, p. 361;
Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (A. B.) Vol. I, p. 244; P. N. Chopra, op. cit. p. 96;
P. N. Ojha, op. cit. p. 81.

Among the important festivals observed by the Muslim community in this region were ¹Idul Fitr, ²Iduzzulha, ³Id-i-Milad, ⁴Barbora, ⁵an ⁶Shab-i-Bara, Muharram was observed by the Shias.

(contd); A.L. Krishna Rao, Akbar the Great, Vol. III, p. 363.

10. Minerals Vol. III, p. 364; Fuzul-i-Jamjiri, (trans.) Vol. I, p. 361; P.N. Chopra, op.cit., p. 99, 100; P.N. Jha, op.cit., p. 79-80

1. Shushtari, Outlines of Islamic Culture, p. 539; Sir Thomas Roe, p. 72; Falsner, p. 73; Ellis Vile, p. 423; Letters Received by the East India Company, Vol. IV, p. 10; Idul Fitr in Akbar-i-Akbari (trans) Vol. II, p. 305; P.N. Chopra, op.cit., p. 103; P.N. Jha, op.cit., p. 84; Crooks, 'Islam in India' p. 11-13; Mohd. Yasin, p. 55.

2. Sir Thomas Roe, p. 72; A.L. (trans) Vol. II, p. 31; Mannucci, Vol. II, p. 349; P.N. Jha, op.cit., p. 85; A.L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol. III, p. 213, 214; P.N. Chopra, op.cit., p. 105; Mohammad Yasin, op.cit., p. 53-54.

3. A.L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol. III, p. 213; P.N. Chopra, op.cit., p. 105.

4. Crooks, Islam in India, p. 188-191, 214; A.L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol. III, p. 213; P.N. Chopra, op.cit., p. 106.

5. Crooks, Islam in India, p. 203-204; Revenue, p. 31; Mannucci, Vol. II, p. 349; Minerals Vol. III, p. 363; A.L. Ashraf, op.cit., p. 241; Mohd. Yasin, op.cit., p. 53-59; P.N. Chopra, op.cit., p. 102; P.N. Jha, op.cit., p. 84; A.L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great Vol. III, p. 213.

6. Crooks, Islam in India, p. 150-51; Falsner, p. 75; Peter Hundy, Vol. II, p. 219; Bagdadi (trans) Vol. I, p. 431; J.H. Searcy, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, p. 91; Horris Embassy to Aurangzeb, p. 165, 166; P.N. Chopra, op.cit., p. 100-101; A.L. Ashraf, op.cit., p. 242; A.L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol. III, p. 213; P.N. Jha, op.cit., p. 84-85; Crooks, 'Islam in India', p. 151, 184; Mohd. Yasin, Social History of Islamic India, p. 55-56.

Visiting the shrines of the holy saints and performing the pilgrimages was quite common amongst the Hindus and Muslims of this region.¹ Kashi, Ayo'dhya, Prayag, Mathura, Haridwar, were the most important and famous religious centres. Large number of pilgrims used to visit the places on important occasions to perform ² ceremonies.

The most important centre of pilgrimage for the Muslims was the shrine of Hazrat Babar Gazi in Lucknow.³ On important occasions a large number of muslims used to assemble at these places.⁴

Hindu religious and local fairs were also very much common in this region. Prayag was an outstanding religious centre and was the king of the shrines. It attracted large number of pilgrims in the month of May from almost every corner of Hindustan. About four to five lakhs of people used to gather here every year to take a dip in the holy river.

1. Min' (Frans) Vol. II, p. 169; Vol. III, p. 332-333; 334-35; Mizauddin Ahmad, Iqbal-i-Akbari (Frans) Vol. II, p. 330; Pernier, p. 334-336; P. N. Ojha, op. cit, p. 82; P. N. Chopra, op. cit, 106-7; L. Finch, Early Travels in India, p. 20; Manucci, Vol. III, p. 246; A. L. Srivastava, Babar the Great, Vol. III, p. 214; Coreri, p. 262; Mrs. Savitri Chandra, op. cit. p. 11-12.

2. Min' (Frans) Vol. II, p. 169, 181, 192; Vol. III, p. 334-6; Pernier, p. 334-6; A. L. Ashraf, op. cit, p. 140; P. N. Ojha, op. cit. p. 82; P. N. Chopra, op. cit, p. 107; Peter Lundy, Vol. II, p. 76; Coreri, p. 262; Manucci, Vol. III, p. 246;

3. A. L. Ashraf, op. cit, p. 243; A. L. Srivastava, Babar the Great Vol. III, p. 214; P. N. Ojha, op. cit, p. 85.

4. P. N. Ojha, op. cit. p. 85.

Pilgrims speaking different languages, attired in different dresses, observing different social practices, belonging to different sects, subscribing to socially conflicting ideas and beliefs used to come here to stand their feet. After taking bath the Hindus offered Naach to their ancestors. Thus it was a great fair which lasted for a month.¹ In Peshawar, Kandahar and other religious places such gatherings were common on festive occasions. ² Otherwise,

The foregoing account makes it clear that this region was inhabited by large number of races, observing different customs, speaking different languages. The Hindu-Muslim society was divided into various classes; that these different classes lived and worked together in complete harmony and they were little disturbed by the political convulsions.

1. 'Ain (Arns) Vol. II, p. 169; Sir Thomas Roe, p. 312; Sujan Rai, 'Jhulnat-ut-tawarikh', p. 27; 'Ain (Arns) Vol. III, p. 32-33; 'Inch, p. 19, 20; Chevenot, p. 93; Manucci, Vol. I, p. 3; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 147; for details, see, p. Caren, Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 21-7-18.

2. 'Ain (Arns) Vol. II, p. 169; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 113, 230; Sujan Rai, 'Jhulnat-ut-tawarikh', p. 23; Peter Hardy, Vol. II, p. 122-23; Ashraf Khan, Muntakhab-ul-lubab, Vol. I, p. 797; Bernier, p. 334; 'Inch, p. 1-03, 104, 20 ;

ECONOMIC CONDITION

OF

UTAR PRADESH

CHAPTER X

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIES

In the economic field the role of the region covered by modern U-ttar Pradesh in the 16th and the 17th century had been quite significant. In the Mughal period and even now, the Uttar Pradesh as whole was essentially an agricultural unit in the sense that vast majority of its people inhabited in the villages and subsisted upon agricultural products. Agriculture was their profession and it was a means of their livelihood. The economic condition of the region under review was to a greater extent affected by the political developments but nature also played vital part in bringing prosperity and plenty and sometimes poverty. However, before we begin to examine the economic condition and the economic importance of this region it would be worthwhile to examine again the salient geographical features of this region. It has earlier been related that the region embraced the Mughal Subahs of Agra, Oudh and Allahabad and some of

SALIENT GEOGRAPHICAL

FEATURES.

the areas of former Subah of

Delhi. The boundary of the Subah

of Agra approximately extended to the middle of the Doab and the area north of Jamuna and the south of Chambal river. This entire area was fertile because of its alluvial soil. Then the same Subah in the Mughal period also covered the hilly tracts of Kewat to Urich. In short the boundaries of the Subah of Agra formed a fiscal unit. The next important region was covered by the Mughal Subah of Allahabad, whose boundaries extended both the sides of the Ganges, stretching deep into the heart of Bundelkhand and covering the lower portions of the Ganga Jamuna Doab, Ganga and Ghagra-Doab. Except Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand the rest of the territory of the Subah of Allahabad was very fertile, with tremendous potentialities. To the north lay the Subah of Oudh extending from the river Gandak in the east to the Ganges in the west. Largely this extensive area was covered by dense forests¹ and it formed the third region of Uttar Pradesh with measured and cultivated area. But it was perhaps backward in agriculture, for in the 47th R.Yr. of Aurangzeb's reign the governor Oudh mentioned² that it was absolutely desolate. Across the Ghagra to the south dense forests existed among the Tons river eastern part of Azamgarh district, where there are no traces of ~~any~~ any forest or jungle.³ But the general belief that the forests

1. Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 205.

2. Irfan Habib, "The Agrarian System of Mughal India" p. 12.

3. A.N. (Trans) Vol, III, p. ~~222~~ 266-7; Irfan, op.cit. p. 13.

existed here is based on the misunderstanding of the original evidence.¹ There was still another area covered by the former Mughal Subah of Delhi. Though Delhi is no longer a part of Uttar Pradesh but in the Mughal period it covered a part of it, known as Ruhelkhand and Upper Doab, which are now in Uttar Pradesh. This area was also fertile with extensive cultivable land but with the forests as well. There are some indications in the contemporary literature about the existence of a forest belt in Larkar Sadon, which covered the extensive tract up to the present Shahjahanpur district and projected into Lakhimpur Kheri, which was almost unsurveyed when 'Ain² was compiled. The reason for why it was left unsurveyed, may be, that it^{was} in the hands of the local chiefs but later³ it was seized and brought under administration. And thus it equally indicates the extension of cultivation at the expense of the forest. In any case a large number of settled villages assigned to this mahal in the records of the later period shows that the process of reclamation had not been completed even

1. Finch mentions, "This much from Agra to Jaunpore this way (i.e. Via Agra to Lakhnau to Ayodhya) from thence (including that way of Agra) to Allahabad is 110 kos, 30 C all which are now covered by forest. Early Travels, p.177; De Laet, p. 65; Peter Mundy, Vol.II, p.89,92,110; Cf. Irfan Habib, p.13-14.

2. Journal of U.P. Historical society, Sect. II, 1919, p. 18-19; Irfan Habib, op.cit. p. 15.

3. Muhammad Sadiq Khan, "Tarikh-i-Shahjahan", p.174,183.

by the end of our period. Further to the north west there seems¹ to have been a ring of forest around Anola, which has not² completely disappeared and hampur which has also been cleared³ off. But the plains of Mainital District lay in the forest.⁴

The Dun Valley on the other hand comprised of inhabited villages and mahals and to a certain extent the peasant⁵ population. Besides the scattered forests there was a regular line of forests in the northern part of the region along the banks of river Ghagra.⁶ The regions near Prayag and Kantit⁷ were x covered with forests. On both the sides of highway³ between Prayag and Jaunpur there were forests. In the vicinity of Kara Manikpur there was a forest where wild elephants were found.⁸ Again from Malinjar to Chunar and in the south up to Kaimur hills the region was covered with forest. The area round Malinjar was covered with dense forest, where the elephants and other animals were available. The mahals of Bhadoi and Kantit in the Gargara of Allahabad and Chunar⁹ were full of dense forests. Thus a fairly extensive area of the region under review was covered with forests.¹⁰

1. Badauni, (Trans) Vol. II, p. 150.
2. Moreland, Journal of U.P. Historical Society, 1912, p. 5.
3. Irfan Habib, op.cit, p. 15.
4. Irfan Habib, op.cit., p. 16.
5. Waris, f. 49 a, 142 b, 143 b Cf. Irfan Habib, op.cit. p. 16
6. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 169; ~~Finch, "Early Travels", p. 178~~ 396.
7. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 169; Finch, "Early Travels", p. 178.
8. Finch, "Early Travels", p. 179.
9. B.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 488.
10. 'Ain, Vol. II, p. 170, Rewa Gazetteer, p. 31.

✓ We have no complete information about the actual area under cultivation during the period from 1526 to 1596. The contemporary works relating to this period do not throw any light on this aspect. The first statistical information with regard to the measured area under the cultivation and the number of villages, parganas and Sarkars of this region has come to us from 'Ain-i-Akbari'. Even the information supplied by this work is incomplete for our purposes because it does not throw any light on the area under cultivation in the Tarai region of Uttar Pradesh, some parts of Oudh, Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand and in the ¹un valley. The statistics given in Ain belongs to the year 1596 i.e. 40th year of Akbar's reign. The next source of our information is Tasur-ul-amal and the historical works compiled or written in the post-Akbar period. In them there are references about the measured area under cultivation and the extent of cultivation vis-a-vis the areas covered by forests, waste land and barren land. Such information if pieced together enable us to have an approximate idea of the various aspects of agrarian condition of this region.

The Mughal administration measured the land primarily with a view for assessing the revenue. 'Ain' which is our chief source of information mentions Bigha as unit of measured land

1. For details, see, Irfan Habib's, "Agrarian system of Mughal India", p. 11-17; 22-24.

(Zamin-i-paimuda) of each sarkar and mahal. while the area figures in the 'Ain are given in Bigha-i-Ilahi and the other sources for the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb mention the area figures in bigha-i-daftari. Bigha-i-Daftari was two third of bigha-i-Ilahi. The figures relating to the measured land, as given in the administrative manuals and historical literature are very important, because they tell us about the area under cultivation in two different periods (1594 and 1707) and secondly about the extension of cultivation, if there was any between 1594 and 1707 in the region under review.

The basic question which agitates our mind is, as to what was the approximate area measured in our region. By the time 'Ain had been compiled the total area measured in the Subah of Allahabad was four million bighas. And according to the statistics of Aurangzeb's reign there was 13.1 million bighas of measured land under cultivation in 1707. In the Suba of Oudh, only a small part of land had been measured in Akbar's time. The figures stand somewhere near ten million bighas as compared to 12.7 million bighas in Aurangzeb's time. It may be pointed out that by the end of Aurangzeb's reign all the villages of the Subah of Allahabad were covered by measurement. But the process of measurement remained incomplete in Oudh and one third of the villages of Oudh remained unmeasured by the end of Aurangzeb's reign. The difficulties in carrying out the work of measurement was due to the presence of dense forests and wild animals in the parganas of Aonla, Bansi, Sitab. Basti, Maghar and Gorakhpur etc and also of the

rebellious chiefs and the unsettled conditions there. In the Subah of Agra 9.1 million bighas were measured in Akbar's time and by the end of Aurangzeb's reign almost all the villages of the foresaid Subah had been measured. In the Subah of Delhi in general and Rohilkhand in particular and Upper Doab also the survey work and measurement seems to be quite slow in this MEASURED AREA IN period. By 1596 the cultivable area HITAR PRADESH of Rohilkhand remained unsurveyed because it was in the hands of the local chiefs and outside the place of imperial administration and the region was almost covered with the dense forests. By the end of Aurangzeb's reign, the entire Rohilkhand was brought under the imperial control. The forests were cleared off and the local chiefs were suppressed and cultivation was extended to a large extent. Though the exact measured area is not known it seems that one fifth of the area was under the cultivation. In the Munson region because of the hilly nature of the country and dense forests no attempt was made to measure the cultivable land. The Dun valley though had a large number of villages and mahal with the peasant population yet this area was not measured. On the basis of the foregoing account, it can be said that much of the part of the region under review had been ~~measured~~ measured from the time of Akbar to the death of Aurangzeb.

This vast region as we have seen covered with alluvial soil, black soil, dense forests and low valleys the fertility and productivity of the land varied from place to place. Despite the varied nature of the soil of different

places in this region, on the whole it possessed tremendous¹ capacity for agricultural production.

There are very few references about the methods of cultivation in the different parts of the region of Uttar Pradesh in the chronicles and vernacular literature. Every where the implements and the traditional oxen driven plough² were in common use. The peasants were also familiar with the use of manures and the rotation of crops. Generally the peasants raised two to three crops in the year and this too depended upon the fertility of the soil, local traditions and the irrigational facilities and other factors.

Like the peasant of today, the peasants of the Mughal period were dependant on monsoons and artificial means of irrigation. Both rainfall below and above the normal requirements placed the peasants in difficulties.³ Generally the peasants depended upon artificial means of irrigation, such as wells, canals, tanks and reservoirs. Keeping with the traditions of the country, the Hindu-Muslim rulers and their chiefs, considered it as a humanitarian measure to sink wells, construct canals, and reservoirs, and thus extend maximum

1. According to Steel and Crowther, "All the country between Agra and Lahore is exceedingly well tilled and measured, being the best in India and plentiful of all things, Purchas and Pilgrims, Vol. IV, p. 268;

2. Terry describes the foot plough, a type of plough which was used in England. See, Early Travels in India, p. 298.

3. Pelsaert, p. 48; English Factorates in India, 1642-5, p. 202; 1646-50, p. 270, 322; 1651-54, p. 5-6.

facilities to the cultivators in raising different crops in a year. These are numerous references about such humanitarian measures undertaken by the rulers and their nobles in the region under review. In most parts of Uttar Pradesh,¹ ordinary wells were in common use for irrigation. There were step wells also. This required masonry work and enclosement of an open area with steps for reaching the water level. These were known as Baolis.² Both ordinary wells and step wells were innumerable in this region. At Agra Manik Chand records forty three step wells.³ As regards ordinary wells Palssert has rightly remarked that every year large number of wells were normally dug to irrigate the Rabi crop. The general means for lifting the water from the wells was leather bucket pulled by yoked oxen, popularly known as Charkas.⁴ Besides, there were different means of drawing water. The dor method has been described by many. Baber mentions about the use of Rahat in the region round about Agra and further east.⁵ The artificial

IRRIGATION AND

IRRIGATIONAL METHODS

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 39; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (R & B) Vol. I, p. 1-8.

2. Baber mentions about step wells (Baolis). See. B.N.II, p. 486. Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 64.

3. Finch, Early Travels in India, p. 150; Peter Mundy, Vol. II p. 48; Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, p. 30.

4. B.N. Vol. II, p. 487; Moreland, India at the death of Akbar p. 101; Irfan Habib, op.cit, p. 26-27.

5. B.N., Vol. I, p. 388, Vol. II, p. 486; The system of lifting water by Charas or leather bucket was most common in this

and seasonal tanks were also used for irrigational purposes.¹
The fields were also irrigated by the canals.² But mostly the
peasants depended upon the mansoons and inundation of the
fields every year either by river or seasonal water.³ The east
and West Jamuna canals which are said to have been constructed
in this period also helped in irrigating a fairly large area.

The Mughal records mention about jins-i-lamil a
word used for cash crops.⁴ The words has been used for high
grade crops chiefly grown for the market. These crops include
cotton, Sugarcane, opium, Indigo, tobacco etc. The cotton was
most important crop of the Agra region but its inclusion in
the dastur circles of Allahabad and Oudh show that its
cultivation was quite extensive in this region of Uttar
Pradesh. It was cultivated in Benaras, Jaunpur, Chunar, Ghazipur,

1. Peter Mundy, Vol.II, p.38-64; Naqvi, op.cit. p. 30.

2. No new canals were excavated in this region in the
period under review.

3. The floods in the Ganges and Jamuna when receded used
to leave behind rich alluvial soil and sub soil water. The
fields covered by subsoil water needed no irrigation Likewise
river Sarju and Ghaghra too left alluvial soil and sub soil
water over a large area. In cases where a river rises and
inundates the fields seasonally every year both irrigation and
fertilisation are natural. Abul Fazl mentions about the lands
thus irrigated by this means by Sarju and Ghaghra in Oudh and
upper Rohilkhand, See, Ain, Vol. I, p.303, 433, 435; Cf. Irfan
op. cit. p. 29.

4. Cf. Irfan Habib, p. 39.

5. English Factories, 1655-60, p. 118; Cf. Irfan Habib,
p. 39.(n.37).

Jajmau, Allahabad, Manikpur, Bhadoi, Kara, in the suburbs districts of Oudh, Ibrahimabad, Kishni, CASH CROPS Bahraich, Firozabad, Khadosa, Khairabad, COTTON Poli, Gorakhpur, Lucknow, Unnao etc. It was the autumn harvest of Agra province and was produced in Etawah and Mubarakpur, Eraj and Kannauj and many other places of this region.¹

² Indigo which was used for dye was cultivated all over this region.^{3 4} It was mostly cultivated in Khanua, Kol, Khurja and Hindaun.^{5 6} The average annual yield of the Khurja and kol crops amounted to 1000 ⁷ bales. Similar was the out put of Mewat and in Khanua the out put was never above 500 maunds in usual years.⁸

1. Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 99,102,106,108,115, 117.

2. It was exported to middle East and Europe, See, Purchas and His Pilgrims, Vol. IV, p. 84; Steel and Crowther Ibid, p. 267; Finch, Early Travels in India, p. 151-52; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 24, 221; Pelsaert, p. 13-4; Letters Received by the East India Company, Vol. II, p. 424; Bernier, p. 292; Thevenot, p. 56; Purchas and His Pilgrims, Vol. IV, p. 45;

3. Finch, Early Travels in India, p. 151; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 7; Purchas and His Pilgrims, Vol. IV, p. 267; Sir Thomas Roe, Vol. II, p. 283;

4. Pelsaert, p. 115; Finch, Early Travels in India, p. 119, 170, De Laet, p. 46; Peter Mundy, Vol II, p. 76.

5. Pelsaert, op cit. p. 15; Finch, "Early Travels" p. 195; De Laet, op cit. p. 46; English Factories, 1646-50, p. 56; 225; 1655-60, p. 63; Tavernier, op. cit, Vol. II. p. 9.

6. Pelsaert, op. cit. p. 15; Tavernier, Vol. II, op. cit. p. 9.

7. Pelsaert, op. cit. p. 15.

8. Finch, "Early Travels", p. 151.

Another crop which also produced a dye of different colour was known as al¹ in this region. It was mostly produced in the dastur² circles of Iraj and Phapund, Katia and Kalinjar.³

Both indigo and al⁴ constituted most important articles of import in the seventeenth century. Hence, its cultivation⁵ was always promoted in this region.

Another important crop of this region was sugar cane, whose cultivation was widespread. According to Moreland, the extensive cultivation of sugar cane was not possible due to the⁶ lack of irrigational facilities in this region. But we find that in the 'Ain-i-Akbari' this crop has been listed in all the dastur⁷ circles. Kalpi and Agra were famous for sugar cane cultivation

1. Pelsaert, op.cit. p. 13; Finch, "Early Travels", p.151-153
Maxx William Finch, Purchas and His Pilgrims, Vol. IV, p. 46.

2. Ain (Trans) Vol.II, p. 106-8.

3. 'Ain(Trans)Vol. II, p. 99.

4. Hamida Khatun Haqvi, "Urban centres and industries in Upper India (1556-1803)" p.54-55; Finch "Early Travels", p.152, 179. De Laet, op. cit, p.46; Pelsaert, op.cit.p.15.

5. Ain (Trans)Vol.II, p.99; Steel and Crowther, 'Purchas and His Pilgrims', Vol IV, p.268; English Factories, 1640-50, p.200, 202, 1651-54, p.50.

6. Irfan Habib, op.cit, p.44; Moreland, "India at the Death of Akbar", p. 25.

7. Ain (Trans)Vol.II, p.106, 115, 117, "Purchas and His Pilgrims", Vol, IV, p.268; English Factories 1646-50, p.255; 1655-60, p.118; 1651-54, p.29; 1618-21, 1020, p.241; Sujan Rai Khulasat-Ut-Tawarikh, (Trnas)p.56.

SUGAR CANE

'Ain refers to two kinds of Sugar cane paunda and ordinary, being grown all over this region. R De Laet mentions that sugar cane was cultivated all over the country between Agra and Lahore. The first variety of sugar cane was grown in the Gubah of Allahabad because it was amongst the best cash crops of Uttar Pradesh. Except in the dastur circles of Benaras where its production was little low in the rest of the dastur circles of the region under review its production was not only high but at par with ¹ Allahabad, and Kara, where it was considered to be a lucrative crop. The ordinary sugar cane was produced in large quantity in the dastur circles of Kurrah, Jajmau, and Kalinjar, Bhadoi, Benaras, Jaunpur, Chunar, Manikpur, Rae Bareilly, Kara Katia Ibrahimabad, Kishni, Bahraich, Firozabad, Kharousa, Khairabad, Poli, Bhawarah, Gorukhpur, Lucknow, Unnao, Sarkar Badaon and ² other places.

The Persian musk melon was cultivated in both the harvests (Rabi and Kharif) and in all the dastur circles of this region except those of Kalinjar, Kurrah, and Rae Bareilly. In oadh it was produced in Ibrahimabad, Kishini, Bahraich, Firozabad, Kharousa, and in the suburban districts of Khairaba ⁴ Gorukhpur, Lucknow, Unnao. In Agra region it was produced

1. Ain (Trans) Vol.II,p. 99.

2. 'Ain (Trans), Vol. II,p. 99, 102,106,103,115,117.

3. The maximum rate of the demand per bigha in Persian mus melon was 150,13 dams in dastur Jalalabad and maximum rate was 109-14 dams in Dastur Karrah.

4. Ain (Trans) Vol.II.p. 101-102.

in Etawah, Mubarkpur, Eraj, Kannauj, Bhogaon, Sikaripur, Phaphund, Kalpi, Kol, Thanah Parida, Akbarabad and Chool¹ Kalindi.

The safflower was another important crop of this region. It was produced in the dasturs of Jalalabad, Mungrah, Ghazipur, Kara, Kotia, Manikpur and Rae Bareilly, and also in the dastur circles of Benares, Jaunpur, Chunar, Kurrah, Jajmau, and Kalinjar. So far as the dastur circles of Manikpur and Kalinjar were concernedⁿ there the

production of safflower was a little less² or the lowest as compared to the dastur circles. It was also³ grown in Oudh, Ibrahimabad, Kishini, Bahraich, Firuzabad, Kharausa, Etawah, Mubarakpur, Eraj and Kannauj, Bhogaon, Phaphund, Kalpi, Kol, Thanah Parida and Akbarabad.⁴

There was also extensive cultivation of betel leaf (pan) in the different parts of Uttar Pradesh. Betel leaf was grown in the Subah of Allahabad and in the places such as Jalalabad, Bhadoi, Benares, Chunar, Ghazipur, Kurrah, Kotia, Jajmau, Kalinjar, Manikpur, Rae Bareilly, and the⁵ districts of Oudh, such as Ibrahimabad, Kishni, Bahraich,

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1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 105-107.
 2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol, II, p. 98, 114.
 3. 'Ain (Trans) Vol, II, p. 101-105.
 4. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 107.
 5. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 80-82; 99;

Firozabad, Aharousa, Khairabad, Gorakhpur, Lucknow, Unnao,¹
and in the suburbs of Agra, in Etawah, Meerutpur, Phaphund,
Malpi, Kol, Thana Farida, Akbarabad, Badaon, Sambhal and
Chandpur and many other places.²

Opium was produced in the different parts of this
region and mostly in Jalalabad, Benaras, Jaunpur, Rae Bareilly,
Chunar, Chazipur, Ibrahimabad, Aishni, Etawah, Braj, Kannauj,
Bhogaon, Simandarpur, Phaphund, Malpi, Akbarabad and Sambhal
and Chandpur.³

Singrah (dark coloured rice) was cultivated in Agra,
Braja, Phaphund, Benaras, Jaunpur, Chunar, Chazipur, Rae Bareilly.
In these places the production of it was far below than Allahabad,
Jalalabad, Kurraha Kara, Jajmau, Kalinjar and Manikpur and
in the district of Ibrahimabad, Aishni, Bahraich, Firozabad,
Lucknow and Unnao in Oudh. Its production was highest in Chunar
and lowest in Jajmau. At places its production was much higher
but while at others it was lowest. For example its production
was slightly higher in Allahabad and Kara and lowest in Kalinjar
and Jajmau.⁴⁵

A large variety of oil seeds were also grown in
this region. Amongst them were mustard, linseed, sesam seed.

1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 102.

2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 106, 108, 117; Irfan Habib, op.cit,
p. 47 Peter Mundy Vol. II., p. 96.

3. 'Ain (Trans) Vol, II, p. 98, 101, 105, 107, 114, 115

4. 'Ain (Trans) Vol, II, p. 99, 106, 108.

These oil seeds were mostly produced in the Subah of Agra Oudh and Allahabad. For mustard cultivation Benares, Jaunpur, Chunar Chazipur, Banikpur, and Rae Bareilly, Jajau, Mungerah and Malinjar were quite famous.

The introduction of tobacco in the 17th century in India, led to its cultivation on a large scale. It was a profitable crop. It was cultivated in different parts of this region.

Besides these, we also find that a large variety of vegetables and fruit trees were cultivated throughout this region. Turnips, various beans, beat roots, salads, potato etc were produced. Likewise we also find the crops of various fruits and groves of fruit trees or orchards planted by the private individuals visa vis the nobles and the emperors from time to time in different places.

Mention has already been made of the three cash crops i.e. Cotton, indigo and tobacco in the foregoing pages. Among the other cash crops of the region under review were wheat, rice, barley and millets. Wheat was grown throughout

1. '41n (Trans) Vol. II, p. 98, 101,
2. Edward Terry, "Early Travels", p. 293; Irfan Habib, op. cit, p. 45-46.
3. Pelsaert, op.cit, p. 48; Irfan Habib, op.cit, p. 46-48.
4. ^{B N II p. 646; (usuker & B) Vol I, 173,} Finch, "Early Travels", p. 143-44; Peter Mundy, op.cit, p. 309; Pelsaert, op.cit. p. 48-49; Irfan Habib, op.cit, p. 50; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 97, Peter Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 134-5; Bernier, op.cit. p. 249-50; Stuart, "Gardens of the great Mughals", p. 14-15.

Uttar Pradesh. Broadly speaking its production was stable except in the dastur of Aurrah where its production was much.

Its production was less in the dastur circles of Hungmah and

OTHER CASH CROPS

OF

UTTAR PRADESH

Manikpur. It was also produced in

abundance in the trans-Jamuna tract

of Agra and the upper Doab area,

Sasat and Sikanderpur, Mol, Thanah Farida, Amberabad in the

lower Doab i.e. Etawah, Kannauj, Bhogaon, Phaphund, Lalpi

and Braj.¹ In the Oudh zone, it was produced in great quantity

in Ibrahimabad, Mishni, Bahraich, Kirozabad, In the Delhi

Sarker, Meerut, Burhan, Badon² (which are now in Uttar Pradesh)

and in Sarker Lucknow, Sambhal and Chandpur,³ it was also produced.

As regards rice it was grown in Agra, Allahabad, Oudh and those portions of former Sarker of Delhi which are now in Uttar Pradesh. Various varieties of rice was produced here. Abul Fazi has mentioned about Shali, Mauji and Kur.

Mauji and Kur were largely produced in Agra Subah and Kur in⁴ Jalalabad and Benaras. While other varieties of rice were

produced mostly in Kara, Katia, Kalinjar, Jaunpur, Mungarah,⁵ Chunar, Rae Bareilly, Jajmau, Manikpur and other places.

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1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol.II,p. 107-8;Peter Mundy,Vol.II,op.cit.p.
 2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol.II.p.102,114,116;Travernier,Vol,II,op.cit,p. 28.
 3. 'Ain (Trans) Vol.II,p. 116; De Laet,op.cit,p. 71.
 4. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 98.
 5. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 98-99.

Barley was produced in the trans Jamuna tract of Agra, Upper Doab, Saket, Sikandarpur, Kol, Thana Parida, Akbarabad, and in the lower Doab in Etawah, Kannauj, Bhogaon, Phaphund, Kalpi, Kraj and other places. Besides it was also produced in Jaunpur, dastur of Manikpur, Kalinjar, Jajmau, Katia and Karrah, Allahabad, Badaon, Sambhal Chandpur and other places. Its production seems to be uniform in all these places but lower in other places except in Kara. In the dastur of Rai Bareilly, Manikpur, Ghazipur and Chunar and Benaras the production was higher but lower as compared to other dastur¹ circles, like Jaunpur, where its production was the highest.

The millets consisted of cheaper food grain like Jawar, Bajra etc. These were mostly grown in those areas where the land was comparatively less fertile or there was deficiency of rainfall, Jawar was produced not only in the dastur circles of Allahabad and Agra but also in Benaras, Jaunpur, Chunar, Ghazipur, Rae Bareilly, Kalinjar, Bhadoi, Manikpur, Lucknow, Ibrahimabad, Oudh, Ibrahimabad, Kishni and Pahrach and ~~many~~² other places in Uttar Pradesh.

Pulses were mostly grown in the Doab, Allahabad, Oudh and those portions of former Subah of Delhi which are now in Uttar Pradesh. The chief pulses grown were Mung, Moth, mash etc. They were produced almost everywhere. It had somewhat

1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 98, 105, 107, 114, 101,

2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 99, 102, 106, 108, 115.

better cultivation in Bhadoi, Benaras, Jaunpur, Mungarah,
Chunar, Ghazipur, Manikpur, and Rae Bareilly. Its production
was less in Kara, Kotia, Jajmau and Kalinjar, but not so lower
as compared to the best producing areas. These pulses were also
produced in the different parts of the Subah of Oudh, i.e. in
Ibrahimabad, Kishni, Behraich, Pirozabad, Khairabad and
Gorukhpur and Unao. It was also produced in the different
parts of the Subah of Agra i.e. in Etawah, Mubarakpur, Braj,
Kannauj, Saket, Bhongson, Silandarpur, Phaphund, Kalpi, Kol
and Akberabad.

In this region we find ~~kan~~ three distinct categories
of the cultivators. Those who carried on the cultivation them-
selves, with the help of the members of their family. Then those
who carried on the cultivation with the help of hired labourer,
paying to them daily wages either in cash or kind and
appropriating to themselves the entire produce. Besides, then
there were others, who owned the land but gave it to others for
cultivation and shared its produce~~d~~ in accordance with the
earlier terms and conditions made with the tenant. This was
the agricultural organisation in the region under review.

On the whole the entire Uttar Pradesh was rich in
agricultural production in the Mughal period. There were about
fifty four dastur circles in this region. Roughly speaking the

1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol.II, p. 98, 99, 102,

2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol.II, p. 102, 106, 108.

Rabi crop, in certain parts of Uttar Pradesh in this period used to be better as compared to Kharif. The Rabi crop in Manikpur Allahabad, Etawah, Amtia, Ghazipur, Benras, Jaunpur, Chunar, Rae Bareilly, Jalalabad and other places was always good while the Kharif crops was less in these places. The agricultural efficiency of these places can be determined by making a comparative study of the quantum of production in the Rabi and Kharif crops. It may be pointed out that as the agricultural efficiency was never uniform the agricultural production could also be not uniform in the period under review.

FOREST WEALTH AND PRODUCE.

The region covered by Uttar Pradesh was also very rich in forest wealth and produce. It has earlier been related that a fairly extensive area in this region was covered by forests during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The presence of wild animals in these dense forests which are now thickly populated have been recorded by large number of writers. Baber himself records that in many places in the plains of Hindustan are covered by bushwood to such a degree that the people of the pargana rely on these forests, take shelter in them, they trusting to their in accesible situation¹ often continue in a state of refusing to pay their taxes."

1. P. Kennedy, "History of the Great Mughals", p.145; Early Travels in India, p.174; Terry, op.cit.p. 299.

The sub-mountane forests extended much further into the Uttar Pradesh. In the forests of the hilly country south of Ganges and Jamuna of this region elephants, rhineros, tigers and other animals were found in abundance. Besides, these the timber, fire-wood, sandal wood, leaves, bark, cloves, aloe wood, campher, bamboos, gum lac, lac and many other things meant for dyeing¹ were found in these forests. These articles were mostly needed by the different industries of this region. Being rich in forest wealth and produce this region possessed great potentialities for industrial development, trade and commerce. And precisely because of the availability of raw material in abundance, there was the growth of industrial economy in this region.

MINES AND MINERALS

Uttar Pradesh was not so rich in mines and minerals as compared to the South. Sujan Rai Bhandari mentions about the presence of gold mines in the Subah of Delhi and Gadh.² Chattarman~~as~~ closely follows him and adds that gold mines were also in Allahabad and Agra.³ As regards quick silver, lead, tin, zinc

1. Naqvi, "Urban centres and Industries in upper India", p.51, 94; Moreland, "India at the Death of Akbar," p.144; Bernier, op.cit.p. 334; English factories, 1618-21, p. 46, 151-156, 165; William Finch, Purchas his Pilgrims, Vol. IV, p.66.

2. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh (Trans) p. 26.

3. Chahar Gulshan (Trans) p.27.

and copper etc very little information is available. Abul Fazl mentions that these were found in the different parts of this region. In Malinjar there was an iron mine. Within a distance of eight kos, diamonds were found. In such gold, copper, lead, and other minerals were available. In the Aunon region there were gold and silver mines. Lead, iron, copper and borax was also available there. While in the region round Agra there were several copper mines. The stone rocks of Chunar and Mathur Sikri and other so many places were famous and were greatly used in the construction of buildings. According to Finch diamonds were found near Agra. Similarly other writers have reported that there was a quick silver mine at Agra. Saltpetre was another important mineral which was used in manufacturing gun powder. It was found in Shergarh, a place about twelve

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1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 170.
 2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 133.
 3. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 235.
 4. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 192, Lerner, op. cit, p. 449; Tavernier, Vol. I, op. cit. p. 3; Moreland, "India at the Death of Akbar," p. 146.
 5. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 223; Vol. II, p. 192-193. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh (Trans) p. 10, 24; Xavier, JASI, 1913, (N.S.) Vol. I, p. 131-22.
 6. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 223; Vol. II, p. 192; Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh (Trans) p. 10-24; Chahar Gulshan (Trans) p. 43; William Finch, "Purchas His Pilgrimes", Vol. IV, p. 70.
 7. English factories, 1624-29 p. 208, 239, 270, 335-1651-54, p. 196; Pelsaert, op. cit, p. 46; Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 9; Moreland, "From Akbar to Aurangzeb" p. 154; L.K. Chahorn Naqvi, op. cit, p. 61-62, Peter Hundy, Vol. II, P. 76.

miles from Agra, in Aol (Aligarh) and Amroha. In Agra there were two copper and salt mines. Lead was found in the Subah of Allahabad.

PLANTS AND ANIMALS.

The region under review also witnessed natural calamities from time to time. There is nothing in our chronicles with regard to the famines and natural calamities in the period from 1526 to 1554, and thus it can be inferred that the region enjoyed normal economic life during this period. From 1554 onwards we have couple of evidences to show that at times this region passed through a very critical phase. Towards the close of Humayun's reign there was a severe famine in the eastern region and during 1555-56 there was another great famine in this entire region, especially in the region round Agra and other places. People died in the groups of ten and twenties and more and the dead neither got graves nor coffins. The common people lived on the seeds of Egyptian thorn, wild dry grass and cowdung. "Badaoni was an eye witness of this famine. Most of the affected country was rendered desolate. Cultivators and peasants disappeared and rebels plundered the town of Muslims. Abul Fazl maintains that by the time of Akbar's¹ accession scarcity was over probably owing to a good rabi crop.²

1. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 35; Badaoni, (Trans), Vol. I, p. 428-29.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 35; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. V, p. 384, V. Smith, "Akbar the Great Mughal", p. 396-98.

From 1595 to 1598 the region around Allahabad was in severe grips of famine. According to V. Smith, "at this time whole of Hindustan or northern India suffered from a terrible famine which lasted continuously for three or four years beginning in 1595-96." A ¹ kind of plague also added to the horrors of this period. Abul Fazi has referred about this famine in well guarded words. He says that, one of the occurrences of the year 1004 A/1596 was that, "in this year kitchens were established in every city. There was deficiency of grain this year and high prices threw the world into distress. In the beginning of the year a comet appeared and astrologers predicted that there would be drought and scarcity. The gracious sovereign appointed able men to every place to give food to the necessitous."²

In 1644 the Subah of Agra was affected by a famine, though the famine conditions were not reported. In 1646 draught was experienced both at Agra and other places. In 1648 there was again failure of rains in the Agra region.³ In 1650 there was again failure of rains in all parts of India and dearth of corn was reported from Awadh.⁴ And certainly it must have

1. A.N. (Trans), Vol.III, p.1063-64, V.A. Smith, "Akbar the Great Mughal," p.267; Moreland, "Agricultural system in Muslim India," p.145, Peter Lundy, Vol.II, p.343.

2. A.N. (Trans) Vol.III, p.1063-1064; Elliot & Dowson, Vol.VI, p. 94; Irfan Habib, op.cit, p.32.

Benarsi Basti, a resident of Jaunpur records in his "Ardhkatha", the famine of 1596-97 in these words :

मई विम सगई बावने, पहरक परख्यो मे पड़ काल,
अन्त क महन्त न पाख्ये, मयो जात बेहाल ॥

see, Ardhkatha, p.9

3. English factories, 1646-50, p.62, 99; Irfan Habib, op.cit, p. 106, 219.

4. English factories, 1646-50, p.322; 1651-54, p.23; 1651-54, p.9-10, Irfan Habib, op.cit. p.107.

affected the life of the people of the country between Agra¹ and Ahamdabad. In 1658 a prolonged period of scarcity began, caused initially by the ravages of war of succession and it continued for the first four years of the reign of Aurangzeb. The scarcity of grain was prevalent in the region round Agra, and therefore Aurangzeb had to take measures to extend relief² to the people. There was another great famine in 1670 in Benaras and in the eastern Uttar Pradesh. The famine also³ affected the economic life of the eastern Uttar Pradesh.

There is not much evidence about the out-break of epidemic diseases in this region. Writing in 1615-1616 Jahangir refers in his 'Memoriss' to the spread of bubonic plague in this and the preceding year in the 'oab and Delhi, due to the excessive draught which this region had experienced⁴ during the years 1613 and 1614-5.

The recurrence of famines and natural calamities compelled the rulers from time to time to take decisive measures to mitigate the sufferings of the people and peasants alike. Akbar adopted permanent measures to meet such situations. He established state granaries in every place. These state

1. English factories, 1651-55, p. 26; Irfan Habib, op.cit, p.106, Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 212.

2. Khafi Khan, "Muntakhab-ul-lubab", Vol.II, p. 124; Jahangir Nama, p. 609; Bernier, op.cit, p.433; Irfan Habib, op.cit.p.106.

3. Irfan Habib, op.cit, p. 107.

4. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (A & B) Vol.I, p. 330, Irfan Habib, op. cit, p. 102; Sir Thomas Roe, Vol. II, p. 307-8; Moreland, Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 207; Thomas Coryat, Early Travels, p. 237.

granaries were maintained by the qah per tax i.e. a tax of ten seers of grain per bigha of cultivated land. The grain was collected and stored in the state granaries. These stores served several purposes : 1- it enabled the government to keep the buffer stock ready to face the draught and famines and extend immediate relief¹ to the people. 2- the poor cultivators could get the seeds from these stores for sowing. 3- that the poor could buy grain from these stores at cheap rates in the time of famine.

Besides, these measures Akbar also established charity houses in different parts of this region, where the poor could get food freely in times of crisis. A regular² staff of clerks and a darogha managed these charity houses. In 1583 Akbar opened three free kitchens in Agra. One of them called khairatkhana, which was meant for Muslims and the third³ for rajputs, was known as Jogikhana. Similar efforts must have been made by his successors to extend relief to the sufferers⁴ during the famine period or on the outbreak of epidemics.

1. P. Saran, The Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 424-25; Moreland, "From Akbar to Aurangzeb", p. 213.

2. 'Ain Vol. I, p. 210-211; Cf. P. Saran, 'The Provincial Government of the Mughals', p. 424.

3. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 210-211, P. Saran, op.cit, p. 424; A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 1064; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 193.

4. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 420.

During the period under review, this region also witnessed on many occasions floods in certain parts. These floods were not uncommon. In 1658 there was a great flood in Allahabad. Manucci mentions that, "In ~~xixxx~~ in the first year of Aurangzeb's reign the water in the two rivers in Allahabad rose to such a height that almost the whole was under water and many people were drowned the fortress alone escaped the inundation. "Again Allahabad suffered on account of a similar flood in August 1671. Describing about it Marshall writes, "At Allahabad which is from Benaras to Agra four day journey towards the latter end of August 1671 there happened a great flood by the reason of the over flowing of Ganges and Jamuna which meet there thousand of people of the town were missed." Another flood which affected the normal life of the people of Allahabad was in 1684. The Akhberat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla of 28th H.Yr. of Aurangzeb's reign mention that Allahabad suffered a great loss due to unprecedented flood in the Ganges. There the level of the river rose to the extent that the water entered into the fort of Allahabad and reached up to Chalees Situn. About sixteen thousand maunds of lime besides, timber and other material was washed away incurring a loss of many lakhs to the imperial exchequer.

1. John Marshall in India, p. 139, 140.

2. Akhberat, TAL. 28th H.Yr. XXXI, p. 131; Cf. S.N. Sinha, "History of Subah of Allahabad", p. 329.

These natural calamities affected the normal economic life of the people of the region. Firstly, they used to bring about the loss of property, crops, devastation of villages, the problem of unemployment and loss of life of men and beast of burden and above all they used to bring tremendous sufferings and misery. In the early years of the reign of Akbar, during 1614-5 in the reign of Jahangir and twice in the reign of Aurangzeb this region was a victim of such natural calamities. And the loss can be measured both in terms of money and men. The loss was compensated by the gains made by good harvests but it took time to rehabilitate the desolated villages and towns affected by floods, famines or epidemics.

INDUSTRIES.

This region which is now covered by Uttar Pradesh was a region full of hamlets and villages with village communities, which were a dominant feature in the economic life of this period. These villages were self contained and self supplying and they used to cater to the needs of the people of the towns and cities, which were mostly the seats of the imperial or provincial administration, or feudatory chiefs and influential nobles, where resided the large retinues of the courtiers and princes. These cities and towns were joined to the villages by roads, which were mostly unmetalled in those times. No wonder, in the two centres, i.e. villages and the towns, two types of economy. The growth of any type of economy presupposes the

growth and development of industry in a particular place or region at a particular time. In the region under review there were two types of industries : 1- Rural and 2- Urban.

Before describing the rural and the urban industries of the region under review, it would be worthwhile to point out that, sometimes it is believed that throughout this period there was poverty in this region. This impression has been given by Moreland in his work.¹ But, the accounts of the foreign travellers indicate that this was not so. For instance Tavernier mentions that he found rice, flour, milk, beans and the vegetables, sugar and other sweet meats, dry and liquid in abundance in the villages.² Thus, on the basis of evidence furnished by the contemporary writers and foreign travellers it can be inferred that poverty and prosperity were the mixed blessings for the people of this region.

Agriculture was the chief industry of this region and chief source of revenue. The agricultural produce, such as cotton, san, oil seeds, fibres, drugs, dye, sugar etc. were worked up for consumption and for allied industries through industrial processes. The agricultural produce of different kinds in the shape of raw material obviously gave impetus to industrial development. The peasant and artisans, skilled and

1. Moreland, "India at the Death of Akbar", p.156-157.

2. Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 238; Cf Irfan Habib, op.cit, p. 92.

non-skilled in the country side engaged themselves in using the raw material for manufacturing commodities for the consuming classes and masses alike. Naturally large number of industries came into being in the rural areas, which formed nucleus to the Urban industries.

To begin with food grain, it should be stated that there was no organised milling industry in the sixteenth century in the rural or urban areas. The preparation of flour was purely a domestic business. Peasant's role ended with thrashing of the corn. The same holds true with regard to rice husking. But the same was not the case with the cotton. Cotton was picked and ginned and carded by different class of persons, known as Dhuniyas. After carding process was over it was spun into yarn by another class of people and mostly in peasant's house by the members of his family. The spun yarn was then passed on to the weaver, where again it was carried through different processes before it was manufactured into cloth. The weaving process was done by professional weavers or Julahas. Thus, we can safely conclude that there were ginning, carding, spinning and weaving industries in the villages, besides the printing and the dyeing industries.

1. Irfan Habib, op.cit. p. 57.

2. 'Ain, (Trans) Vol.I, p. 64; English factories, 1630-33, p.62.

3. Irfan Habib, op.cit.p. 57.

3. Thevenot, p.10; English factories, 1635-37, p.174; 1630-33, p. 19-20; Irfan Habib, op.cit, p. 58.

4. English factories, 1661-65, p.112; Irfan Habib, op, cit. p. 58.

Sugar and gur industries were also very important industries in the rural areas in this region in this period.¹

The extraction of oil from the oil seeds was a process which was mostly carried out in the villages by the tellis or oilmen.²

In the Agra region the indigo dye was manufactured in the villages with the help of the cultivators. The methods used for manufacturing varieties of colours have been described in details by the contemporary foreign travellers.³

Despite the little information which we have about the rural industries we can appreciate to some extent the combination of agriculture with industry in the countryside and that such combination was a means to utilise the surplus labour fully. Hence, there was hardly any problem of unemployment in the countryside in this period.

Another important point which is worth mentioning is, that the industries in the countryside mostly catered to the needs of the peasant's family, a village or a group of villages.

1. W. Crooks, D. L. Provinces of India, p. 332; Moreland, "India at the death of Akbar", p. 157; Irfan Habib, op.cit. 9.58.

2. Irfan Habib, op.cit. p. 59. Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 158.

3. Asiatic Vol. I, p. 442; India, Early Travels, p. 151. Letters received by East India Company, Vol. IV, p. 241; Pelsaert, p. 10-11, 15; Peter Hanny, Vol. II, p. 221-23, Irfan Habib, op. cit. p. 42; English factories, 1630-33, p. 325, Moreland, op.cit, p. 158-159.

These industries spun yarn, manufactured sugar and oil for the entire village or group of villages. The rural weaver, carpenter, blacksmith and the potter prepared practically everything that the people of the village needed i.e. the clothings, plough, tools and earthen pots etc. There was little that a village needed from outside.

URBAN INDUSTRIES :

Now coming to the urban industries we find that the extensive region covered by Uttar Pradesh in those times possessed great industrial potentialities. There were a large number of industrial centres throughout this region. The increasing hold of the imperial administration vis-a-vis the expanding population and contact with the west, the increasing demand for manufactured articles were some of the factors responsible for industrialisation of this region. It is true that agriculture was the backbone of the village economy during this period but it also constituted an important source to industrial production and wealth. The industries in the cities and towns brought the latter into prominence. The courts and camps either of the monarchs or of the nobles or officials, were additional factors for stimulating production. The following were the main industrial centres and industries¹ (Urban) in this region.

1. Agra was founded by Sultan Sikandar Lodi in 1506, who made it his capital. Niyamatullah Makhzan-i-afghana (Trans) by W.B. Roy, p. 83-84; For details about this city see, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (R & B) Vol. I, p.4; Haft Iqlim, II, p. 59, Cf. Naqvi, op.cit, p.170; A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p.191; R. Monserrate,

TEXTILE INDUSTRY: was the most important of all the industries. The contemporary sources mention about the cotton silk, woollen, and the hemp yarn weaving industries in this region. The cultivation of hemp was carried on almost in all the Sarkars of our region as may be judge from Ain-i-Akbari. And this has led us to believe the existence of hemp weaving industries in those Sarkars.

Commentary, p. 34; Finch, Early Travels in India, p. 17-18; Henrique, Vol. II, p. 152; Pelsaert p. 3; Sir Thomas Roe, Vol. II, p. 537; Manucci, Vol. I, p. 132-33; Vol. II, p. 424; Purchas and His Pilgrims, Vol. III, p. 23; Dernier, p. 234-25; 240; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 237-238; Thevenot, p. 46-47, 50; Le Laet, p. 36-37; R. S. S. Mulshrestha, Development of Trade and Industry Under Akbar the Great, p. 109, Nicholas Wellington, Early Travels, p. 226;

Benaras-Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 169, 170; Tavernier, I, p. 113; Henrique, Vol. II, p. 146; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 428; Savkan, India of Aurangzeb, p. 57; Dernier, p. 228; 304;

Kora was the biggest trading and commercial centre in Uttar Pradesh. See. Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 91-92; Pelsaert, p. 7; According to a local tradition

‘कड़ा में बावन मण्डो और इप्पन बाजार सब रोज आते थे ।

Allahabad : Shoreland, in its at the death of Akbar, p. 8; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 116; Le Laet, p. 41; Finch, Early Travels in India, p. 19, 117, 113, 179; 223;

Ratehpur : Ain-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 191; 631; Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 415; Nicholas Wellington, Early Travels in India, p. 226-227; Finch, Early Travels in India, p. 18; Purchas, Vol. IV, p. 41-42;

Farrukhabad : J. Ledges, Travels in India, 111-112; Thevenot, p. 66;

Moradabad : G. Posters, p. 120.

Shikohabad : J. Ledges, op.cit, p. 111-112.

Among the other centres of trade and commerce in this region were Faizabad, Banda, Lucknow etc.

COTTON : The cotton textile industry seems to be universal. No city, town, pargana or village of this region seem to have been without this industry. Cotton was produced in abundance in Aheirabad or Aaryabad in Lucknow and in the other places mentioned earlier. The production of cotton in abundance in this region exercised tremendous influence on the economy of this region. Cloth being the second basic necessity of human being, it was natural for the cotton textile industry to grow, keeping pace with the increasing population and increasing demand for cotton fabrics in this region. Large varieties of cotton cloth was manufactured in the different parts of this region. In the regions around Agra, the following varieties of cloth was manufactured. The printed cloth or Shintz, ordinary calico or guzees, river ~~skits~~ Calico, the mercales and Luizzes¹ were manufactured at Gokul and Hindaun and Shahzadpur, Agra, Benaras and Sultanpur. There were other varieties which were in great demand not only in India but outside. The European traders especially the Dutch and the English always needed the cotton fabrics in large quantity. Agra was famous for its market.

1. Manufacture of guzees in Gokul, has been mentioned in English factories, 1642-45, p. 300.

2. Naqvi, "Urban Centres and Industries in upper India" (1556-1803), p. 180. Peter Mundy Vol. II, p. 98; Ain (Trans), Vol I, describes the variety of cotton goods, p. 100-101.

Manucci's report bears out about the abundant availability of cotton fabrics at Agra. Malik-i-Mulki states, confirms Manucci on this point. During this period Delhi and Delhly also enjoyed reputation for manufacturing cotton fabrics. Shahjahanpur was famous for manufacturing superior khaddi cotton goods. Shahjahanpur enjoyed the reputation for producing shamshas and shamsas, since the days of Shah Jahan Shahjahanpur was an important weaving centre. It continued to be throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. In fact, Shahjahanpur was one of the principal centres of cotton fabrics in the early 17th century. William Finch found great traffic in linen here. Pelstert noted the production of coarse cotton stuffs in Bah. The English were greatly interested in Shahjahanpur mercerals and Garyabalis, though not in uzoes, the Garyabalis and Shahjahanpur varieties of cloth were in so much demand among the Europeans. They were produced in Garyab and Shahjahanpur. Both of these places are associated with a large number of other varieties of cotton cloth. Kanpur, in the Barad district produced mercerals. Similarly Amber, ur and Jalal ur in the Amirabad district became famous for their cotton manufacture. Jaunpur also manufactured other varieties of cotton cloth which was chiefly used for turlans and girdles and white plain calicoes. Malik-i-Mulki mentions the manufacturing of long Jhona variety here. At Jalalpur and in Amir in the Amir of Allahabad, Jhoni, Mihir and other varieties of cloth were manufactured. Shahjahanpur used to manufacture cloth meant for preparing tents etc. In the last decade of our period Mirzapur

emerged out as centre for textile industry. Benares also became another centre of textile industry. It used to manufacture ¹ shasles for the Moors. The volume of the total output of cotton goods certainly impressed ² him, while he was at Benares.

Similarly Pelsaert recorded the manufacture of several varieties of cotton cloth such as meant for girdles, turbans, saris and ³ gajazal. Manrique was so impressed with the enormous quantity and quality of its cotton goods that he regarded cotton goods as principal source of wealth.⁴

The foreign authorities mention about the variety of cotton cloth but have not always mentioned the place of manufacture. But Pelsaert's list of cotton fabrics, seems to concern mostly to the region under review. For example shasal was first noticed by him and it occurs again and again ⁵ in the dastur-ul-shasals of Allahabad.⁶ From it at least this can be inferred that this variety of cloth was manufactured in the dastur circles of Allahabad. It may be pointed out that between 1526-1707 at least fifty varieties of cotton cloth was manufactured in this region of Uttar Pradesh.⁷ Shasal was manufactured in Beharapur,

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1. H. Fitch (Hyley) p.103, Early Travels, p. 20.
 2. H. Fitch (Hyley) p. 103; Foster, "Early travels in India" p. 20 Manucci says that "Benares produced much cloth worked in gold and silver, Vol II.p. 33.
 3. Pelsaert, p. 7.
 4. Manrique, Vol.II,p. 146; Cf. Haqvi, op.cit. p. 141.
 5. 'Ain (Trans) Vol I, p. 100-101
 6. Haqvi, op.cit, p. 179-185
 7. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I.p. 100.

Lucknow, Benaras, ¹Chautar² was manufactured at Saharanpur and
 Agra, ³malma⁴ was produced at Agra, Allahabad and Benaras;⁵
Canrazal was manufactured at Benaras and Sahan at Agra; Jhona⁷
 at Benaras, Mau and Jalalabad, Allahabad, Jeunpur; Rafta⁸ was
 produced at Agra; Mihir⁹ ul¹⁰ was manufactured at Jalalabad,
 Benaras, Mau and Allahabad; Andil¹¹ at Benaras; Chhint was
 manufactured at Agra, Benaras and Shahzadpur and Sultanpur;¹²¹³

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1. Naqvi, op. cit, p. 135.
 2. 'Ain (Trans) p.100
 3. Naqvi, op.cit, p. 185.
 4. 'Ain (Trans) p.100, Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 182.
 5. Naqvi, op.cit, p. 135.
 6. Pelstert, p. 7
 7. Naqvi, op.cit, p. 135.
 8. Naqvi, op.cit, p. 135; English factories, 1613-21, p. 61.
 9. Naqvi, op.cit, p. 135.
 10. Naqvi, op.cit, p. 136.
 11. Naqvi, op.cit, p. 136.
 12. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. 1, p. 101; English factories, 1613-21, p.206; Cf. Naqvi, op.cit, p. 136.
 13. English Factories, 1613-21, p. 76
 14. Naqvi, op. cit, p. 137.

Gasli-baft, and Gazi was manufactured at Agra and Khairabad,
 1 2 3
 (Muzaffarpur Allahabad; Chandree was manufactured at Agra;
Benigan, which was exported and brought to Agra was
 3 4 5
 also manufactured somewhere in this region. Naryabadis, Guldars,
 6 7
Anbaris, Khairabadis, Naryabadis were manufactured at Naryabad,
 Lucknow, and Jhalolpur, Khairabad, Meerut, Feroz and other
 8 9
 places. White cloth was manufactured at Agra. Embroidery was also
 10
 manufactured at Agra for the purpose of exporting it. Castor
 11
 was manufactured at Agra for similar purpose to Turkey and
 12
 Persia, to the coast of Malindi Abyssinia and Zanzibar.

Both the contemporary and later historians and the foreign travellers have highly spoken about the skills of the weavers of this region. They were not only impressed with the quantity of production but also with a large variety and the quality.

1. Haqvi, op. cit., p. 137; English Factories, 1642-45, p. 296; English Factories, 1642-45, p. 292; English Factories, 1642-45, p. 293.

2. English Factories, 1613-21, p. 93.

3. Haqvi, op. cit., p. 187.

4. & 5. & 6. & 7. Haqvi, op. cit., p. 183.

8. English Factories, 1637-41, p. 193; 1642-45, p. 35; 1642-45, p. 30; 1646-50, p. 254, Peter Hundy, Vol. II, p. 142.

9. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 424.

10. English Factories, 1646-50, p. 133.

11. Manrique, Vol. II, p. 141.

12. Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 56, Cf. Haqvi, p. 137.

The foregoing account gives us a fairly good idea of the textile industries and the varieties of cotton cloth produced at different places of this region. The quality and the quantum of production of cotton in a particular town is an index of the importance of that town where it was manufactured. Any decline either in quality or quantum of manufacture shows the declining importance of its industries and the town. During the period under review while Lucknow and Farrukhabad, assumed greater importance, Khairabad and Fariyabad lost it soon account of deterioration in the quality and quantity and failure to compete with other industrial centres. Besides, as regards Benaras and Allahabad they continued to maintain their previous position.

It may be pointed out that the textile industry started growing in this region during the reign of Akbar. From then certain factors contributed to its growth and development viz the extension of facilities to the cultivation of cotton in this region, the freedom of commercial intercourse, the increasing demand of cotton goods and availability of talent and raw material etc. The safety on the highways, the investment of money in textile industries, were other factors which were responsible for the growth of this industry in this region. As a result of developments in the textile industry new industrial centres came into existence, both in the western and the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh. Bareilly, Khairabad, Fariyabad, Lucknow and Benaras, though had emerged out into prominence much earlier but their importance was chiefly because of their textile industries.

SILK INDUSTRY : Another important industry in this region of Uttar Pradesh was Silk industry. The contemporary foreign travellers have referred to about the existence of silk¹ industry in this region at many places. Manrique has referred to Benaras for silk industry and the superior quality of embroidery work. Costly fabrics as turbans and silken cloth were woven here with silver and gold threads. The silk goods manufactured at Benaras were exported to countries like Turkey, Persia and ² Ahurasan. Vorses of Juran were beautifully embroidered on the costly cloth and velvet and sent to the foreign countries. But this practice was not liked by Aurangzeb, who in 2nd June 1697 ordered Abdul Qadir to see that embroidery work of such type was stopped immediately in different Karkhanas. The emperor further ordered that all such stock should be confiscated. Besides, Benaras, Agra was also famous for silk industry during this period. Silken stuff and very fine variety of cloth of gold and silver were manufactured here for turbans, lace and "other adornments for women."³ There was a kinari bazar in Agra a fact which confirms the fact that the gold and silver laces were manufactured here on large scale.⁴ Agra was

1. Manrique, Vol. II, p. 147, 148; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 118.

2. Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 118; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 428-29; English Factories, 1618-21, p. 206.

3. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 424; Naqvi, op.cit, p. 71.

4. Naqvi, op.cit.p. 71.

also famous for its embroidery work with gold and silver threads.¹ Silk was also manufactured at Allahabad and Jaunpur. The Silk of Allahabad was of best quality. Though during the reign of Akbar the silk industry was not very prominent in this region but after Akbar's death it gradually flourished as a result of increasing demand for silk.

WOOL IN USURY : Wool was obtained from the different animals such as sheep, camel and goats. In Akbar's time Agra was most important centre of wool production. Akbar evinced keen interest in this woollen industry, especially in manufacturing ² Shwals. It is true that the shwals manufactured at Agra were much inferior in quality as compared to the Lashmiri Shwals but still then they were in great demand. Rough woollen clothes were³ manufactured at Agra and exported to Oudh and Aumoon.

CARPET INDUSTRY : No account of the cotton and woollen goods manufactured in the different parts of Uttar Pradesh would be incomplete without a reference to the carpet ~~in~~ industry. It was an important industry of this region. The woollen, silken and cotton plus cotton and wool mixed carpets were manufactured

1. English Factories, 1618-21, p. 201; Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 3;

2. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 428.

3. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. ~~184~~ 183;

at Pathpur Sikri, Agra, Jaunpur and other places. Agra manufactured large quantity of carpets. Jaunpur was also famous for carpet industry and the carpets of Zafarabad were famous. It seems that during this period there was a little Persian influence on this industry.

INDIGO INDUSTRY : It was a principal industry of Agra and those parts of former Gubah of Delhi which are now in Uttar Pradesh. It was in flourishing state and had attracted large number of merchants.

METAL INDUSTRY : Benaras was famous for brass, copper, and metal wares. Agra, Mathura and Hardwar were also famous for manufacturing utensils of daily use.

1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 57; Pelsaert, mentions that Pathpur Sikri and Agra, carpets were woven in moderate qualities and can be obtained to order, fine or coarse, as required but the quality usually made, sells at the rate of 2½ to 3 rupees the square gaz-see, Jahangir's India, p. 9.

2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 57; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 424; Pelsaert, p. 9, English factories, 1618-21, p. 161; Moreland; India at the death of Akbar, p. 178.

3. Pelsaert, p. 7; 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 57, Pelsaert, p. 7;

4. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 424.

5. Pelsaert, p. 7; English Factories, 1618-21, p. 195; Moreland, "India of Aurangzeb", p. 57, 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 170;

6. Manrique, Vol. II, p. 154; English Factories, 1618-21, p. 162, 261; English Factories, 1646-50, p. 257; Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 6-7, Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 158-159.

7. Thevenot, "Indian Travels", p. 68

8. Pelsaert, p. 7; Moreland, "India at the death of Akbar", p. 160.

9. Naqvi, "Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India" (1556-1803) p. 66; Thevenot, op. cit. p. 68.

WOOD INDUSTRY : With the rise of the middle class, the wood industry seems to have come into prominence. No sooner the middle class began to lead an affluent life than arose the demand for smaller articles such as ornament boxes, furniture etc. This gave impetus to wood industry. The wood industry also covered the shipping industry. Abul Fazl mentions that Akbar¹ established a ship building industry at Allahabad. Agra was² another centre for building of boats.

LEATHER INDUSTRY: Since there is no reference in the contemporary literature about the import of hides, it can be safely inferred that there must have been a leather industry in every village or town of this region for making bridles, shoes, leather buckets, quivers etc.³

Closely associated with this industry there were other allied industries. Horns of animals were used in making bangles, rings, cups and other articles. Finch mentions that in Ayodhya, there was the flourishing trade of manufacturing buckles, drinking cups etc. from horns. He also mentions that these articles were very costly and no jewels can be compared⁴ with them. Mundy also mentions the same. Thus, it can be said⁵

1. A. Jan Jaisar, "Ship Building in the Mughal Empire", Paper read in the Indian History congress 1967, p.19.

2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 136; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 172; Moreland, "India at the death of Akbar", Purchas, Vol III, p. 368-9.

3. Irfan Habib, op.cit. p. 9-10; Moreland, "India at the death of Akbar", p. 163-162.

4. Finch, (Foster, Early Travels in India) p. 176.

5. Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 171.

that these allied industries must have flourished in different parts of this region.

BUILDING INDUSTRY : Variety of materials were needed for the construction of huts, havelis, palaces, forts and houses etc. The construction work on a large scale at a time when the country was being urbanised presupposed the growth of certain industries e.g. lime industry, wood industry, stone cutting industry etc. The lattice work and mosaic work also required skilled workers. Thus, in the urban centres throughout this region we find the growth of this industry. Stone cutting was a highly developed art in and around Agra. For the construction of his buildings, Baber employed 1491 stone cutters, six hundred of them were from Agra alone, the remaining belonged to Sikri, Bayana, ¹bolpur and Kol. As regards the allied industries associated with the building industry no details are available.

PERFUME INDUSTRY : ²It was also an important industry of this region. Jahangir was fond of perfumes and his mother-in-law Asmat Begum, discovered the rose water and attar from rose.

1. D.N. Vol. II, p. 244; Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 233, Moreland, India at death of Akbar, p. 164-165, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 197.

2. Perfumes were manufactured at Agra, Jaunpur and Ghazipur, see, Murtaza Husain Lilagrami, "Ladigul Aqlin", p. 274; Cf. S.S. Kulshreshtha, "The Development of Trade and Industry under the Mughals," p. 199 fn.2; Shabbaz Khan, "Mirat-i-Aftabnuma", p. 2196; Cf. S.S. Kulshreshtha, op.cit, p. 199, Naqvi, op.cit, p. 103; Ain mentions about different varieties of perfumes, see (Trans) Ain Vol. I, p. 93, About rose perfume, Menucci, Vol. I, p. 164.

It was during the reign of Jahangir that new varieties of oils and perfumes were discovered and which became very much common amongst the upper classes.

POTTERY INDUSTRY: It was the chief industry of the villages and towns. But it seems that with the growing use of copper and brass utensils in both the villages and towns during this period the importance of this industry considerably declined.

IRON INDUSTRY : In the period under review, because of the intrinsic properties of iron, it was in great use both in the villages and towns. And no wonder in the every village, pargana and town, there was a separate class in Hindu-Muslim society to cater to the needs of the people. This class was known as loharas. It is related that in Agra alone there were more than two markets of blacksmith's shops where the tools, implements, arms, and large varieties of articles made of iron were available for sale to carpenters, peasants, cobblers, masons, artisans, sculptors, tailors, shop keepers, confectioners, sugar makers, oil pressers, barbers, dyers, washermen, butcher, gardeners, soldiers etc.

A substantial quantity of iron was required for manufacturing armour and weapons, equipment of the armies, matchlocks, guns etc.

1. Naqvi, "Urban centres and industries in upper India"
p. 229-30.

¹
COPPER INDUSTRY: The use of copper in making utensils, which were mostly used by the Muslims in this period and in minting coins leads us to believe that there was copper industry in different parts of this region. Some of the principal centres of this industry can be easily located in this region. One such centre was Benaras where copper and brass wares were manufactured and the other was at Lucknow, which was famous for copper wares. But by far, the most important industry which existed throughout the length and breadth of this region was minting industry for manufacturing of copper coins.

SUGAR INDUSTRY : ² ³ Though sugar cane was a rural product but the sugar was mostly manufactured in some of the important towns and cities such as ⁴ Kalpi and ⁵ Agra. Besides, there were few towns in the subah of Delhi which are now in ⁶ Uttar Pradesh which produced best of the sugar. Amongst the other centres of sugar manufacture was Lucknow and the eastern ⁷ region of Uttar Pradesh. Later on it was manufactured at Banaras, Ghazipur, and Jaunpur.

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1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol.I, p.39-42; Vol.II, p.192; Dadaoni, (Trans) Vol.III, p. 161; Pelsaert, p. 7; Naqvi, op.cit. p.234-35.
 2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 192; Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, p.25; Naqvi, "Urban Centres and Industries in upper India," p. 244.
 3. English factories, 1646-60, p.255; English factories, 1653-60, p. 113; Purchas, Vol. V p. 268.
 4. Bernier, p. 283; Thevenot, p. 68; Naqvi, op.cit, p.243.
 5. English factories, 1651-1654, p. 71
 6. Pelsaert, p.9.
 7. Moreland, "India at the Death of Akbar," p. 156-157.

PAPER INDUSTRY : Paper was manufactured in Shahzadpur and Allahabad. These two cities manufactured the best quality and longer quantity of paper. Besides, it was also manufactured in the Imperial factories.

INDUSTRIES OF THE PERIOD

At the very outset it should be mentioned that the meaning of the word industry should not be taken in the modern sense of the word. The industries of the period and region under review were of entirely different nature and pattern and therefore they should not be compared with the modern industries. The industries were controlled and run by certain castes and naturally they were linked with caste organisation. Since professions were hereditary, the castes, which were determined by profession, represented the various crafts. And each craft was treated as industry in those times. Again, a particular craft was always handed by father to his son and so it passed on from one to another in the same family for generations. This has been confirmed not only by the contemporary and later historians but also by foreign travellers who visited this country during the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

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1. Haqvi, op.cit, p. 255. Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 98.
 2. Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 98; Haqvi, op.cit, p. 255.
 3. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 102; 115; Haqvi, op.cit, p. 255.
 4. Baber writes that, ".... another advantage of Hindustan is infinite number of craftsmen of all professions and industries which abounds in it. This is not perhaps as astonishing, when one considers that industries are practised in the family being handed in from father to son." B.H. Vol. II, p. 520; Prof. R. Williams, An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth

The father trained his son or sons and other members of his family turned everyone of them into skilled artisans and worked with his or their close cooperation in manufacturing the goods or completed a process of production in which he excelled or the members of his family excelled. The house of such a skilled artisan was a school where a few selected persons, who were mostly the members of his family used to receive the training and in due course of time such apprentices used to become the masters of a particular trade. The head of the family himself was the owner of the industry, the chief capitalist, the distributor and the owner of the industry.

As regards the tools and implements, the head of the family used to collect them out of his limited means. They used to be simple and crude no doubt but were sufficient for those who used them. Bernier speaks about the artisans of Delhi¹ destitute of tools. Despite this they managed to produce works of highest quality.

century, p. 139; Cambridge History of India, Vol IV, p. 14; Abul Fazl mentions, "Skillful masters and craftsmen have settled in the country to teach the people an improved system of manufacture." Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 93-94; Pelsaert says that, "Horsemen's children can follow no occupation other than that of their father nor can they marry with any other caste." Jahangir's India, p. 60; While according to Bernier, "the embroiderer brings up his son as an embroiderer a gold smith's son becomes a goldsmith and a physician of the city educated his son for a physician." See, p. 259; L.S. Kulshrekhtha, op.cit. p. 67-68.

1. Bernier, p. 254.

The development of skill involved specialisation. According to Pelsaert there are a hundred craftsmen in Agra for a job which a few men would do in Holland and that craft¹ in Agra passes through four hands before it is finished. The Indian craftsmen were thought to be good imitators but not original designers. Despite, all the drawbacks in Indian artisans, they flourished in large numbers in the cities like Benaras, Agra and many other places of this region.² Their number depended upon the nature and importance of the industry. For example in places such as Benaras, Jaunpur, Allahabad, or other places where textile industries flourished, the number of weavers must have been very large. The most important thing worth mentioning is that in each town or city there were separate Mohallas of the people of different trades and besides, separate markets or shams of each of them. As regards the wages of the artisans or craftsmen, although we have little information about them but generally they were low. Nevertheless, the wages too depended on the nature of the work and amount of skill³ involved.

Besides, these local industries in the towns, cities

1. Pelsaert, p. 60.

2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I.

3. For details see, 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I; Moreland, "India at the death of Akbar", p. 135-139. "India from Akbar to Aurangzeb", Dr. H.S. Mulshreshtha, "The development of trade and industry under the Mughals."

And the villages, there used to be royal karkhanas, where several persons were engaged in manufacturing the varieties of articles needed for the emperor, royal household or the members of the royal family. Such karkhanas were known as Royal Karkhanas, owned by the Emperor but managed by his nobles or officers. The Royal Karkhanas at Delhi and Agra, as have been described by Bernier, were, "large halls seen in many places called karkhanas or workshops for artisans. In one hall embroiders are busy employed and superintended by a master. In another, you see the goldsmiths, in a third, painters, in the fourth, varnishers in lacquer work in the fifth, joiners, turners of silk, brocade, and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and drawers worn by females, so delicately fine as frequently to wear out in one night. The artisans repair every ~~man~~ morning to their respective karkhanas where they remained employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes. In this quiet and regular manner their time glides away,"¹ Besides, these Royal Karkhanas which mostly catered to the needs of the Emperor and his family there were those karkhanas which were maintained by the nobles and the karkhanas² in the provincial centres. We have many references about them

1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I.p.93, Bernier, p. 258-259; Moreland, "India at the death of Akbar", p. 136, Manucci, Vol.II, p.431; Sarkar, "Lughat Administration," p.122; Naqvi, "Urban centres and Industries in upper India," 37,139,256.

pertaining to the period and region under review. The princes¹ and the princesses also used to have their own Karkhanas. And a few of them had karkhanas of their own in Uttar Pradesh.

Thus, both in matters of agricultural and industrial production this region was rich in the Mughal period. The textile, indigo, saltpetre, sugar, carpet and other industries were in flourishing state and the same holds true with regard to the other basic or allied industries. As a result of the rise in agricultural and industrial production a large number of towns came into prominence as centres of production, trade and commerce.

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1. For karkhanas at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, see, 'Ain (Trains) Vol. II, p. 191; M. Athar Ali, "Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb" p. 157-58; Bakhtawar Khan established large number of Karkhanas in different parts of Uttar Pradesh, Peter Mundy, Vol. IIP. 191.

CHAPTER XI

MARKETS, TRANSPORT, COMMUNICATION, TRADE, COMMERCE

COINS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

In the principal towns and cities there were different kinds of marketing centres for different commodities. These marketing centres, were chiefly urban marketing centres, situated mostly in the urban areas. They have been described in our contemporary literature as Chauk, Makhas, Ganj, Mandis, Katra, Bazar etc. The merchants from the different parts of the empire and even from outside this country thronged in these markets throughout the year. In the cities, the main bazar was known as Chauk, which occupied a central place and extensive area in the heart of the city. Manrique defined it as a "square¹ and open place in the centre of the town." It is related that these bazars were most important centres of wholesale and retail goods. The entire economic activity revolved round them. In Agra Taj Ganj was perhaps the biggest and most important market. It was situated in the vicinity of Taj Mahal. It was planned by Shahjahan, In the Taj Ganj there was provision for shops, and

1. Manrique, Vol. II, p. 191; Chauks of Agra, See, Bahar-i-Sukhan, p. 161 a-b, Cf. Naqvi, op.cit, p. 74 (n. 126).

dwellings for the shop keepers and the merchants and artisans. Within no time it developed into a big marketing centre, with six big courts with many merchants.¹ There was another big marketing centre in Fathpur Sikri,² which for a brief period had been the capital of Mughal Empire under Akbar the great. It is related that it had spacious market, half a mile long with stone buildings on both the sides of the street, which passed through it.³ No sooner it was abandoned than the Chauk of Fathpur Sikri

1. Tavernier mentions about Taj Ganj (Tasincan). He says that, "it is a large bazaar consisting of six courts, all surrounded with porticoes under which there are chambers for use of merchants and are enormous quantity of cottons is sold here." Vol. II, p. 110.

2. Ralph Fitch writes that, "Between Agra and Fatehpore are 12 miles and all the way is a market of victuals and other things. Hither is a great resort of merchants from Persia and out of India and very much merchandise of silke and cloth and of precious stones both Rubies, diamants and pearls." Early Travels in India, p. 18; Purchas and His Pilgrims, Vol. IV, p. 42; While according to Joseph Calbanke, "In this citie without all questions our richer silks and velvets but especially ~~sm~~ our richer silks and velvets but especially our clothes of light colours will sell very well, being a place of great trading being not above 12 miles from ^{about 11} Fatehpore, acity as great as London, and very populous." See, W. Finch, Early Travels in India, p. 149; Monserrate, p. 31; De Laet, p. 42-43.

3. Ralph Fitch, Early Travels in India, p. 18; Monserrate, Commentaries, p. 31; W. Finch, Early Travels in India, p. 148; Pelsaert mentions that in Sikandara, which was chiefly inhabited by the Baniyas, there was a big market. All the merchandise brought from the East, Bhutan mountains, namely Cotton goods from Bengal, raw silk from Patna, spikenard, borax, verdigiris, ginger, fennel and thousand sort of drugs too numerous to detail in this place, was purchased and sold to the merchants." See, Jahangir's India, p. 4; Mentioning about the commercial importance of this town, Pelsaert writes that, "innumerable kind of grain, butter and other provisions, which are produced in eastern provinces and thence imported. Without these supplies this country could not be provided with food and that is a place of great traffic." See, *Ibid*, p. 4-5.

lost its importance. Likewise, there were similar markets in Kol, Khurja, Benaras, Allahabad, Lucknow, Chazipur, Jaunpur and other places.

In the urban areas there used to be another market place in the period and the region under review. This market place was known as Nakhas where the cattles and slaves were sold and purchased.¹ It was a whole sale and a retail market as well. In Delhi it was situated on the eastern gate of Jama Masjid, where every day pigeons and horses were brought for sale, There used to be great rush of buyers.² Then there was a nakhas in Agra.³ Here every morning, camels, horses, oxen along with tents and cotton goods were sold.⁴ It is related that this Nakhas was housed in a covered building called "Imardat-i-Nakhas."⁵ Similar Nakhas are to be found in the most important cities, may in all the cities even today. It may therefore be inferred that it was during this period that Nakhas as one of the marketing centres came into existence in the important cities and towns of this region.

1. Pelsaert mentions about a Nakhas near Agra and says that in the morning horses, camels, oxen, tents, cotton goods and many other things were sold." See, Ibid, p.4; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 156, 189; Benarsi Dass, Aradh Natha, p. 35 ;
~~xxx~~ Naqvi, op.cit.p.75.

2. Naqvi, op.Cit, p. 75.

3. Pelsaert, p.4; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 189.

4. Pelsaert, p. 4; De Laet, p. 40.

5. Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 78, 215, 216, 238; Naqvi, op. cit. p. 76.

Besides, there were Gunjs or grain markets in each city or town. These Gunjs in fact used to be whole sale grain markets. At Agra, Mubarak Sultan Gunj, Khoria Gunj and, Zath Gunj were the principal grain markets.¹

Amongst the marketing centres, the Mundis also occupied a very important place. It is very difficult to say as to when these Mundis came into being. In the reign of Sultan Aladdin Khalji we hear about the word mundi for the first time. But the mundis must have existed earlier also. However, these mundis were wholesale and retail markets and they were named after the commodity. Sometimes in certain places these mundis were nearer to each other or situated at a distance from one another. Mostly, they used to be at one place. In Agra there was a Sabzi mandi (Vegetable market). Another mandi known as Hajiam mandi was situated near the Topkhana, was a market where arms and amunitions were sold.² Then there was a Raja mandi,³ big enough to have a temple of N'ashiv within its precincts. Elsewhere in other towns, even today we find such mandis, such as Dal Mandi, ghas mandi, Khoya Mandi, Sabzi Mandi etc.

We also hear about the Katras in the principal cities and towns of this region in the period under review. A Katra

1. Naqvi, "Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India," p. 76; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 207;

2. Naqvi, op.cit, p. 76; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 78, 215.

3. Naqvi, op.cit, p. 76.

was an enclosed market and it was named after some article and was just like a mandi. It was different from a mandi in the sense, that whereas mandis had godowns and were whole centres of trade, the Katra was an enclosed retail and wholesale market and sometimes named after its founder. In the city of Agra there were many Katras, such as Sabun Katra (Soap market) Katra of Akha Bazar, Katra of Itibar Khan, Katra of Shaishta Khan, and Katra of Ali Marden Khan and the Katra of Nazir Khan etc. In other places also, though we do not have specific evidence, there must have been such Katras there. The commodities sold in these Katras have not been mentioned in our sources, but it may be inferred that the Sabun Katra, must be selling only Soap, and each Katra was meant for a particular commodity.

Then there used to be bazar or bazars in each town and city. There was a Sindura Bazar, Mina Bazar, Minari Bazar, Kashmiri Bazar and Naicha Banda Bazar in Agra. According to Banarsi Dass Jain, there were about fifty two bazars in the city of Jaunpur during the closing years of Akbar's reign and early years of Jahangir's reign. In important commercial centres like Allahabad, Benaras, Ghazipur, Lucknow etc. such bazars must have been quite common.

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1. Naqvi, op. cit. p. 77.
 2. Manik Chand, "Ahwal-i-Shahr-i-Akbarabad", p. 55; Cf. Naqvi, p. 78.
 3. Banarsi Dass, Ardh Katha, p. 5, 9, 10, 23, 29, 38, 40, 43, 44, 51.

In the rural areas, there were no permanent markets. The transactions of sale and purchase of goods were done in weekly or fortnightly markets of the village. Once in a week or fortnight, the sellers and purchasers used to assemble at particular place to dispose off and purchase the required articles.¹

MODES OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION.

Ever since the birth of civilisation human being has always tried to annihilate the distance an effort which is still going on. The annihilation of distance by improved methods of transport was deemed necessary in the Mughal times because the rural and the urban economy was undergoing through a rapid process of transformation and change. The success of building up this new economy depended largely on the better transport system. Much before the arrival of the Mughals in this country and establishment of the Mughal rule in this region the process of building roads and to establish links between the towns had started. The Mughal period saw the gearing of the process of urbanisation in this region. There were limited means of transport on land, viz. the beasts of burden and human being, while on water, the small boats, and ships provided means of transport. Thus, the system of

1. De Lcet, p. 83.

transport in the region under review can be considered under two different headings, the land and river transport.

The bullock carts, the horses, mules and the camels were used for transportation of goods from one quarter to another. There are numerous references about these means of land transport in this region. The other well kinds of conveyances were, the ²Polis, ³Kaths, ⁴Palanquias etc.

1. For bullock carts. See, Ain (Trans) Vol. I; R.Fitch, Early Travels in India, p. 18; Sir Thomas Roe, Vol. II, p. 368; De Laet, p. 82; Letters Received by the East India Company, Vol.II, p. 238;

2. Banarsi Dass Jain, a contemporary of Akbar and Jahangir mentions about Polli in the following verse :

डोलो एक मारे करा काने नार मजूर,
सहित कुटुम्ब बनारस आर ह फतेहपुर

See, Ardh Katha, p. 11, 14,15; Also see, Peter Mundy, Vol.II. p. 188.

3. Banarsi Dass mentions about kath in the following verse :

माझु किया फिरोजाबाद । साहिजादपुर लों मरजाद
चलते साहिजादपुर गप । रथ सौउत्तर पयादे भडे ॥
रथ का माडा दिया बुकाय । साफ़ राय के बसे गराय ।
जागे और न माडा किया । साथ एक लिया बोफिया ॥

Ardh Katha, p. 31.

4. Peter Mundy, Vol. I, p. 56, 95, 98; Vol. II, p. 225; Tavernier, Vol. I. p. 33-34; Vol. II, p. 39-40; 116-7; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 68-9; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 172; Pelsaert, p. 50; Steel and Crowther, Purchas and His Pilgrims, Vol. IV, p. 267-8; Thevenot, p. 48; W. Finch, Early Travels in India, p. 179; Banarsi Dass, Ardh Katha, p. 33, 34, 45; English Factories, 1616-21, p. 47, 51, 73, 74, 90, 346; English Factories, 1624-29, p. 270, 307; English Factories, 1651-54, p. 112; Khurshid Mustafa, Travel in Mughal India, "Medieval India quarterly, Aligarh, Jan-April, 1958, p. 270-284; Moreland, "India at the death of Akbar", p. 166; R.Fitch, p. 98-99; Thomas Roe, Vol. II, p. 368; De Laet, p. 82.

As regards the river transport, it was very important in this region because of two navigable rivers Ganges and Jamuna. The river Jamuna flowing through the city of Agra connected it with Benaragan in the east.¹ Thus it covered an extensive area lying between the two points. The river Jamuna was navigable throughout the year. Similarly the river Ganges connecting Banaras and Allahabad, was navigable throughout the year. The boats could easily transport the goods weighing 400 to 500 tons.² We have ample references to show that the river transport was quite common and it was cheap than the land transport. Both Allahabad and Banaras were the connecting links between Agra and the east.

TRADE ROUTES.

Uttar Pradesh is situated in the heart this country and no wonder the important trade routes from the east to the west and from the north to the south passed through the region covered by it. Agra and other cities of this region were connected by large number of roads. Agra was connected with Burhanpur, Jodhpur and Chittor, and Lahore. Almost all the

1. Fitch travelled from Agra to Bengal with fleet of 180 Boats. Cf. Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p.167; Tavernier mentions that Jamuna is a fine river which has large boats up it. Vol. II, p. 103; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 87.

2. Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 167.

3. De Laet, p. 55; Thevenot, p. 85; Coryat, Early Travels, p. 283-4; Terry, Early Travels, p. 293; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 180; Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 44-45; Finch, Early Travels, p. 19; Early Travels, p. 176-77;

foreign travellers have mentioned about the important routes passing through this region or connecting with Agra and other places.¹ There was a road from Agra to Bengal via Benaras² and Patna. This road passed through Agra, Etawah, Allahabad,³ Benaras and led to Bengal. There was another road which led⁴ to Agra by a different route: Agra, Kannauj, Lucknow, Ajodhya, Jaunpur, Allahabad. Besides these roads, there were others which connected the important towns and cities visa vis the villages of this region.

SARAI.

Throughout this region all along the roads and highways Sarais were constructed by the imperial administration and the nobles for the officers on duty, merchants and travellers. These Sarais were spacious enough to accomodate large number of persons and were fully furnished in the sense that everything which was required by the travellers or others was available there. A large number of Sarais are found in

1. De Laet, p. 64-5; 65-67; Tavernier, mentions about a road from Agra to Surat, Agra to Ispahan, Agra to Candhar, Agra to Patna and Dacca.

2. Dr. S.S. Kulshreshtha, Development of Trade and Industry under the Mughals, p. 154.

3. Tavernier, Vol. II, p.113; Peter Mundy, Vol.I, p. 77-79, 83-86; William Finch, Purchas and His Pilgrims, Vol. IV, p.60.

4. Dr. S. S. Kulshreshtha, op.cit.p. 153;

¹
this region.

COMMUNICATIONS.

The system of postal carriers existed in this region much before the arrival of the Mughals. That system it appears continued to survive. Emperor Akbar established dak Chaukis throughout his empire. In these dak Chaukis, there was arrangement for two horses and a set of footmen. The Dak Chaukis were situated at a distance of five Kos, and the postal carriers were required to carry the letters from one post to another. Those who carried the letters were ² known as Pattamar.

1. Pelsaert mentions that Nurjahan's officer built their Sarai in Sikandara to collect duties on all goods before they could be shipped across the river. Jahangir's India, p.4,50; Peter Mundy mentions about many a Caravan Sarais-Sarai Hazam, Nemak Sarai p.71; Sarai Shikohabad, Akirbaus Sarai in Jaswantnagar (p. 85,186), Sarai Alam Chand in Agra (p.99.114) Sarai Khuldabad in Allahabad (p.99-100) Sarai Saif Khan, Alhu Mahal ki Sarai (p.109) Sarai Babu in Agra (117-119) Sarai at Benaras, Sarai Sirsi (p. 123) Sarai Khurja in Sherpur forests (p. 172). Manrique mentions that he stayed in Armenian Sarai in 1641 and noticed ninety Sarais in the city (Vol. II, p.152) According to them not these Sarais, "more than three scores in the city of Agra, were so elegantly built as to be ranked after the palaces of the nobles. See, p. 48; The author of Ahwal-i-Shahr-i-Akbarabad mentions about the Akbari Sarai, Bhore Ki Sarai, Jalal Khan ki Sarai, Itibar Khan Ki Sarai in Agra (Cf. Naqvi, op.cit. p. 81) Bernier's account bears out that Agra seems to have surpassed in the number of its Sarais (p.284) Tavernier refers about Sarai Cheryrabad (Vol. II, p. 114) Sarai Shahzada (Vol. II, p. 115), Sydabad Sarai, Jagdis sarai, Baboo Sarai (Vol. II, p.118) For other references about Sarai in this region see, A.N. (Trans Vol. III, p. 111; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. I, p.363-4; Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p.222; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p.106; Abbas Khan Sarwani, Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, p. 108-109, Cf. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p.61; Finch, Early Travels, p.160; 185-6; Steel and Crowther, Purchas, Vol. IV, p. 268; Manucci, Vol. I, p. 68-69; De Laet, p.55; Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 417; P. Saran, Provincial Government of the Mughals, p.410; Naqvi, op.cit. p.80.

2. Willington, Early Travels in India, p. 202; Letters
Contd

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

There can be little doubt that the bulk of agricultural and non-agricultural production was governed by the local demand in the rural areas and the demand from outside in the Urban areas. Therefore, the entire subject of trade and commerce can be divided into local, internal and foreign trade. As regards the local trade and commerce was concerned it was carried on by local trading community and it was confined to the articles of daily use.

As regards the foreign trade, there were large number of urban centres in this region which were famous for brisk foreign trade. By virtue of its central position Agra had become, "the emporium of the traffic of the world." According to the author of Ajaib-i-Duniya all the goods moving between any two different parts of the empire were required to make a halt at Agra. Thus, besides handling its own exports and

Received by East India Company, Vol. I, p. 131; 136; Vol. IV, p. 209; Sarkar, Studies in Mughal India, p. 54; P. Saran, Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 422; Pelsaert, mentions that kings letters or firmans to the Chief lords or princes are transmitted with incredible speed, because royal runners are posted in villages 4 or 5 Kos apart.", p. 58, 62.

1. Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 191;

2. Cf. Naqvi, op. cit. p. 50; Pelsaert mentions that commerce flourished here (Agra) in the time of Akbar and also- in the beginning of the present reign.....but as the old people say, the city has now nothing left of glory of colour and splendour which formerly shone throughout the world. The survival of certain amount of commerce is due to the situation of the city at the junction of all the roads from the distant countries. All the goods must pass this way as from Gujarat, Tatta (or Sindh) from Kabul, Kandahar or Multan to the Deccan, from the Deccan or Burhanpur to those places or to Lahore and from Bengal and the whole east country, there are no practical alternative routes, and the roads carry indescribable quantities of merchandise

(Contd.....)

exports and Agra acted as a transit depot which greatly added to its commercial activity. Here arrived the goods from the distant parts of the country not only for its local consumption but also distribution. The Arminean merchants used to bring qualities of broad cloth here by the overland route.¹ Surat and Burhanpur used to send large quantities of raw cotton, printed cloth and the red salu to the city of Agra, on their way to Bengal.² The rich silken goods,³ quality carpets and medium varieties of cotton goods were sent from Ahmadabad to Agra.⁴ Besides, these the luxury goods, which was disembarked to the ports of Gujarat also came to Agra.⁵ The rare commodities, which were in great demand here were also brought from the other places. Not only this the spices were supplied by the Indian merchants to Agra from the Deccan.⁶ The famous muslin of Sironj was acquired for the imperial seraglio and principal

especially cotton goods." See, Jahangir's India, p. 6; Sir Thomas Roe, Vol. III, p. 276, 365-366;

1. English Factories, 1642-45, p. 18; English Factories, 1646-50, p. 50; English Factories, 1651-54, p. 30; Naqvi, op. cit. p. 50; Letter Received by East India Company, Vol. II, p. 193.

2. Pelsaert, p. 9; Naqvi, op. cit, p. 50.

3. Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 93; Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 172-73.

4. Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 57, 100.

5. Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 100.

6. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh (Trans) p. 23; Naqvi, op. cit. p. 50; Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 205, 209.

7. Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 140; Pelsaert, p. 22, Naqvi, op. cit, p. 50.

¹
courtiers. Agra too received a large variety of goods from
² Bengal. The scented oil, ³ cotton fabrics, ⁴ silk goods, ⁵ raw
⁶ silk, ⁷ bamboos, ⁸ alo⁹ wood, ¹⁰ elephants, timber, slaves and
¹¹ ~~men~~ eunuchs were brought from Bengal and Orissa to Agra. Bengal
supplied the raw silk and woven silk fabrics in large quantities
and in thousands ¹² maunds to Agra.

Besides, there was brisk trade on and along the
Ganges and Jamuna up to Agra. Agra not only imported raw silk
and sugar from Bengal and Patna but also obtained rice, wheat
and butter from the eastern region. ¹³ In return salt was carried
¹⁴ to Bengal where it was very scarce. Again, from Agra sugar and
¹⁵ wheat and Bengal silk was carried to Surat. Agra owed its
importance also because of the indigo trade. The best indigo
in the world grew in Agra and its neighbouring areas and from

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1. Tavernier, Vol, I, p. 36-7.
 2. Pelsaert, p. 6.
 3. Pyrard, Vol. I, p. 329; Cf. Naqvi, op. cit. p. 51 (n. 404)
 4. Pelsaert, p. 4; Pyrard, op. cit. p. 329, Cf. Naqvi, op. cit. p. 51 (n. 404)
 5. Naqvi, op. cit. p. 51.
 6. English Factories, 1618-21, p. 46; Pelsaert, p. 4, 7.
 7. Naqvi, op. cit. p. 51.
 8. Naqvi, op. cit. p. 51.
 9. Naqvi, op. cit. p. 51.
 10. Naqvi, op. cit. p. 51.
 11. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (R & E) Vol. II, p. 112; Naqvi, op. cit. p. 51.
 12. English Factories, 1618-21, p. 112.
 13. Pelsaert, p. 4-5; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 95-96, 98-99;
Ain (Trans), Vol. I, p. 53.
 14. Pelsaert, p. 9.
 15. Pelsaert, p. 9; 19; Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 390; English
Factories, 1618-21, p. 102; English Factories, 1624-29,
p. 235-36.

1

here it was sent to distant European country^s. The internal trade activity was not only confined to Agra in the region under review but also to Allahabad, Benaras, Jaunpur, Saharanpur, Bahraich, Corunhpur and numerous other places of political and economic importance. Throughout the length and breadth of this region there was great trading activity so far as internal trade was concerned. There was free movement of goods from ^{one} ^v quarter to another. The cotton fabrics, wollen goods, raw material, sugar, Cur, wheat, pulses and brass and copper hardware and numerous other articles were on the list of internal trade. It would not be an exageeration to say this region dominated the internal trade of whole of northern India to some extent.

As regards the foreign trade, it was carried on either sea routes or by land route. The trade with Persia and mid'le east was carried on both by land and sea. There was much demand for the goods produced or manufactured in different parts of Uttar Pradesh during this period in the countries outside India. There was much demand for sugar, sugar candy, cotton textiles, and other articles in the markets of Turkey,

1. The English, the Dutch and the Flemings were greatly interested in purchasing indigo, produced in Agra and its neighbouring regions. See. English Factories, 1630-33, p.155; English Factories, 1634-36, p.11; English Factories, 1646-50, p.56, 219, 335; English Factories, 1655-60, p. 63; English Factories, 1670-77, New Series, Vol.I, p. 204; Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p.104-5, 197; From Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 40-41; Naqvi, op.cit. p. 54-55, 56.

Samargand, Kasgar and other places. Ever since the establishment of English factory in Agra in 1618 the quantum of foreign trade from this region increased by leap and bounds. Saltpetre was the principal articles of export.¹ Cotton goods, sugar, indigo and other articles were collected by the foreign merchants from the different parts of this region and from the places such as Lucknow, Faizabad and Loharas and from the markets at Agra and then sent to European countries. Cotton fabrics occupied the leading position in the export trade of Agra.² In the case of the Dutch traders in the east, it was the lure of cotton goods that had drawn them to this city of Agra and led them to instal there a factory for the purpose. Even the English could not do without the fabrics manufactured in Uttar Pradesh. They purchased the cotton fabrics from the different parts of this region and sold them in South East Asia and Middle East.³ Indigo was another important article of export. The English merchants were mostly interested in it. So were the Dutch. The English and the Dutch

1. English Factories, 1624-29, p.239; Naqvi, op.cit. p. 61; Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 154-55; From Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 48, 96, 87, 100, 118-22, 140, 192, 193, 215.

2. Pelsaert, p. 4; Letters received by the East India Company, Vol. II, p.132, 214, 183.

3. English Factories, 1618-21, p. 46, 73, 51, 58, 93, 161, 167, 184, 188, 197, 200, 254, 337; English Factories, 1622-23, p.9; English Factories, 1634-36, p.298; English Factories, 1637-41, p.192, 232, 278, 312; English Factories, 1642-45, p. 6-8, 60, 113, 204; English Factories, 1646-50, p.53, 88, 277, 299; English Factories, 1651-54, p.9, 52, 114, English Factories, 1655-60, p.70; English Factories, 1665-67, p.263; Letters Received by the East India Company, Vol.II, p.214, 138, 183;

Factory records give us a fairly good idea about the export trade of indigo.¹ The ²ago indigo bought by the Europeans was sent to England,³ Persia, and ⁴Lassarah. Besides, the cotton fabrics and indigo, the European merchants were equally⁵ interested in saltpetre.

Whichever might have been the articles of import and export trade, mainly the business was transacted either through the merchants directly, or indirectly through the agents of the merchants known as Sau gars, sharoffs and brokers or dalal.⁶ When the manufacturers or the artisan did not produce goods on their own account they accepted orders for preparation of those articles and according to required specifications and variety they used to prepare the commodity. Sometimes, they used to take the money in advance. The Saudagars brokers and Palikars⁷ abounded in all the cities and towns.

1. English Factories, 1618-21, p. 47; English Factories, 1624-29, p. 228; 239; English Factories, 1634-36, p. 1; English Factories, 1646-50, p. 219; English Factories, 1655-60, p. 63; English Factories, 1670-77, p. 204; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 310-42; Pelsaert, p. 15; Naqvi, op.cit. p. 56-7; Letters received by the East India Company, Vol. III, p. 6. 239.
2. Naqvi, op.cit. p. 59.
3. English Factories, 1622-23, p. 23; English Factories, 1634-36, p. 1; English Factories, 1646-50, p. 51; Letters received by the East India Company, Vol. III, p. 250-58;
4. English Factories, 1646-50, p. 303; Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 108-110, 111-117.
5. English Factories, 1624-29; 239, 270; English Factories, 1634-36, p. 66; English Factories, 1646-50, p. 121-22; Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 113-122.
6. Khettari was an honorific title for Hindu merchants of Agra-Former merchants, Shroffs, Saudagars and brokers see, Manrique, Vol. II, p. 166; English Factories, 1651-54, p. 112; Pelsaert, p. 4, 28; De Laet, p. 41; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 28; Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 18(n); Naqvi, op.cit, p. 63-64.
7. Naqvi, op.cit. p. 209.

COIN, CURRENCY AND MINTS.

The extent of commercial activities of a particular region in a given period can be measured by coins in circulation, the currency system and the number of mints in that region. At the outset it should be mentioned that the Mughal administration established a currency of high metallic purity in uniformity throughout the length and breadth of the empire. The coins of gold, silver and copper which were minted from time to time had their own face value. The gold coins were almost cent percent pure, while in the silver the proportion of the alloy never rose above 4%. The currency system was free. It was open to anyone to take bullion to the mint and get it converted into gold and silver coins by paying a nominal amount not exceeding 6%. The value of the coins therefore corresponded with the weight and value of the bullion. The Sharroff specialised in the getting the bullion coined at the mints and in testing and changing money. It is difficult to say as to how many coins, gold, silver

1. For details see, Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p.380; Currency system of the Mughal Empire, Medieval India quarterly, Aligarh, 1961, Vol.IV, p.1; Moreland, Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 328-38.

2. Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 16, 25-38; English Factories, 1634-36, p. 68-9, English Factories, 1646-50, p.185; Travernier, Vol.I, p.277; Irfan Habib Quarterly, 1961 Vol.IV, p.1; Miss Aziza Hasan, The Silver Currency out put of the Mughal Empire, Indian Economic and Social Review, 1969, Vol. IV, p.86.

and copper, were in circulation in this region during the period under review (1526-1707).

In this region of Uttar Pradesh the royal mints were situated at Agra, Akbarabad, Mathura (Islamabad), Meerut, Siwanara, Etawah, Allahabad, Muazzamabad, and Lucknow, Bareilly, Shaharanpur and other places.

These mints show interesting changes and fluctuations in the intrinsic value of the coins vis-à-vis their share in the total. The mints of the region covered by the Subahs of Allahabad, Delhi, Agra and Oudh contributed to 43.2% of the total in 1578-87. In the next decade it fell to comparatively low level of 16.4% during 1588-97. Their share in mintage continued to be the same during the next three decades (1636-65). Then again its share rises steadily and the region became the largest contributor during the period 1665-1703. Even if we exclude the region covered by the Subah of Delhi, of which some parts are now no longer in Uttar Pradesh, the conclusion remains the same.

1. Miss Aziza Hasan, Mints of the Mughal Empire, "Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1967, p. 13.

2. Ibid, p. 13.

3. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, 380; Currency System of Mughal India, Medieval India Quarterly, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 2; Pelsaert, p. 29; Williams Hawkins, Early Travels in India, p. 102; Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 55;

4. Pelsaert, p. 29; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 15, 16;

5. Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 27; Pelsaert, p. 29, 60; Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 331; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 374-5; Irfan Habib, Agrarian system of Mughal India, p. 381; Currency system of Mughal India, Medieval India Quarterly, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 16.

6. Ind. Banarsi Dar, Arab. Dar, p. 89.

As regards the fluctuations of the share of the individual mints in the total mintage, it seems that while the Allahabad mint shows decline, ¹ Agra mint shows an increase, but it never contributed more than 12.15% of the total. After 1635 the share of Agra mints declines fastly. It was during the last decade that the Agra mint recovered its original position because of enough issues. The emergence of the new mints in the Mubah Agra Viz, Islamabad, Karnaul, Silandara and Cavalior, was one such factor which explains an increase in the share of the ² total.

Some of the mints of the Mubah of Agra viz Balpi were famous for minting copper coins. While the mints of Akbarabad Pathpur Sikri issued silver coins. In the last decade of the 17th Century the Atawah mint coined silver coins in large number and it's percentage in the total of the highest. It is rather difficult to explain the reasons thereof, as to why Atawah struck the highest percentage of silver coins when it was neither a capital ³ nor was a great commercial centre.

There were copper mints at Benaras and Jaunpur during the reign of Baber and Humayun. Like the previous period they

1. Miss Aziza Masan, "Mints of the Mughal Empire," Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1967, p. 17.

2. Ibid, p. 17.

3. Ibid, p. 17, 30-32.

continued to mint copper coins. But after 1597 the total contribution of the mints situated in the Subah of Allahabad,¹ declined considerably.

Except during the period 1598-1606 and 1636-1655, the mints situated in the Subah of ²Delhi show a decline in their share to the total but after 1655 there is a constant increase in its share. During 1685-1707 because of the establishments of new mints at Bareilly and Baharanpur, it's share to the total³ considerably increased.

Similar trends were also visible in the mints situated in the Subah of Oudh. Till 1644 their contribution was insignificant. Their issues never contributed more than 5% to the total until 1656-65. There is a sharp rise in their contribution in the period 1665-1674. The new mint of⁴ Muazzamabad itself contributed 8.6% to the total during 1685-96.

The foregoing account makes it clear that there was the rise of medium size commercial centres and an increase in trade and commerce during this region.

The chief coins in circulation in this region were

1. Ibid, p. 36.

2. Ibid, p. 18.

3. Miss Aziza Hasan, "Mints of the Mughal Empire", Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1967, p. 18.

4. Ibid, p. 19.

silver coin called ¹rupaiya, ²gold mohur called Asharfi, dam, ³adhela. And sometimes in the rural as well in the urban areas ⁴Asoris were used as media of exchange.

CREDIT AND EXCHANGE

The long distance trade in the region and the period under review or outside the limits of the region under review, was backed by an exceptionally well developed system of finance and credit. It was not possible for merchants and traders in those times to carry with them bullion or coins. The convenient method was to draw a Lundi (promisory note) in favour of the other party, so that the latter may encash it by showing to ⁵creditor's banker or ask the latter to keep his money. The Sharoffs were really money changers and transactions of such type passed through their hands. So far as credit and exchange

1. Irfan Habib, "Agrarian system of Mughal India," p. 380; "currency system in Mughal India," Medieval India Quarterly, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 2, Pelsaert, p. 29, William Hawkins, "early Travels in India (foster) p. 102; Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 55.

2. Pelsaert, p. 29; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 15, 16.

3. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 27; Pelsaert, p. 29, 60; Moreland, "From Akbar to Aurangzeb" p. 331; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 374-75, Irfan Habib, "Agrarian System of Mughal India," p. 381; "Currency system of Mughal India," Medieval India Quarterly, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 16.

4. Banarsi Dass Jain, "Aradh Latha," p. 69.

5. A.N. (Trans) Vol. III, p. 762; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 30; English Factories, 1618-21, p. 155; English Factories, 1655-60, p. 18, 19; Irfan Habib, "The system of Bill of Exchange (Lundis) in Mughal India," Indian History Congress, 1972, p. 290-303; Currency system of Mughal India, Medieval India Quarterly, Aligarh, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 69-70; Banarsi Dass, Aradh Latha, p. 37.

and concerned two important communities played vital role, haddi and haddi.¹ They also took the responsibility of transporting the goods safely from one place to another. For every transaction they used to have their own commissions etc.

No account of the economic life of this region be complete without referring to the process of urbanisation in this region of Uttar Pradesh. It is true that this was not a new process but even it should be given the Mughal emperors and their nobles for establishing new towns and cities in this region and carrying on the process of urbanisation a little further. The old and ancient towns, such as Allahabad, Benaras and Mathura etc, which were only famous centres of pilgrimage before the arrival of the Mughals, now gradually emerged as important centres of trade and commerce and they now began to enjoy the reputation of famous cities.

1. Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 28; Henrique, Vol. II, p. 15; From Banarsi Pass's account it appears that raining in commercial dealings was given. He mentions :

पद्धि बटवाल मयों वितपन्न, परणै रक्त टंका सोवन्न
गुहे उवायन लिते बनाय, जतो जमा कहे समकाय
लेना देना विधि सो लिखे, बड़े हाट सराफा सिने ॥

See, Arch Latha, p.4

2. Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 28; Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p.59; Irfan Habib, Currency System of Mughal India, Medieval India quarterly, Aligarh, 1961, Vol. IV, p.70; Naqvi, op. cit. p. 63.

3. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p.545-6; Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, Towns in Mughal India, Journal of Indian History, 1971-72, Vol. I, p. 45; Naqvi, op. cit, p.9.

4. Description of Allahabad, Manucci, Vol. II, p.81-82.

The same holds true with regard to Jaunpur, Chazipur, Nal, Muzaffarpur, Saharain, Gorakhpur, Lucknow, Bareilly and many other places, which were primarily administrative centres, now developed into rich and prosperous towns. Some of the new towns also came into existence. For example Farrukhabad was founded by Shaikh Farrukh Khan, Kanoniya was founded by Ali Quli Khan-Kanani, and many others came into existence during this period. Though chiefly this region remained with agricultural economy but its share was no less in the industrial economy. Except few years, despite political convulsions, zamindari rebellions and the constant mobilisation of forces through this region towards the east and in the heart of the Doab, on the whole this region not only witnessed great economic changes but also economic prosperity.

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1. Pinch, "Early Travels" p. 176-177; 'Ain (Trans) Vol. II, p. 182, 184, 169, 170; Haqvi, "Urban centres and Industries in Upper India," p. 9.10.
 2. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 415.
 3. For example, Farrukhabad, Moradabad, Chikohabad, Najibabad and Faizabad etc.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION

CHAPTER XII
RELIGIOUS CONDITION

The region which is now known as Uttar Pradesh was inhabited by multi-racial and religious population. Long before 1526 large number of races, professing different religions and belonging to different sects had settled down in this region. With the infiltration of Islam and on the arrival of the Turks, there began an era of conflict and confrontation in the history of this region. After some time, the conflict and confrontation was over and the multi-racial population settled down to adjust in new atmosphere. Islam and the true followers of Islam did not fail to influence the Hindu masses and classes alike and vice versa. As a result of it many changes took place in the outward nature and character of the religion and the religious sects professed by the two basic communities Hindus and Muslims. Long before the arrival of the Mughals and the establishment of the Mughal rule in this region, this region had witnessed the growth and development of Bhakti movement and various schools of mystic thought.

The Bhakti movement was a way of life and thought, which had both the spiritual and intellectual aspects and which was within the comprehension of the masses.¹ It was a reaction against the

1. Key, "Kabir and his followers," p. 3; Yusuf Husain, "Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture," p. 3-4; A.L. Srivastava, "Akbar the Great," Vol. III. p. 79-80.

Advaitvad or philosophy of monoism of Bhankracharya. It was Ramanujacharya who declared that the Bhakti was the simplest and the easiest method of attaining salvation. The Bhakti or devotion has two aspect. There is one aspect of Brahma which was known as Saguna Brahma. According to this concept, the Brahma possessed various attributes or qualities viz. Sat, Chit and Anand. He manifested in various ways and could be seen and realise. The faith in such God, brings the devotee nearer to God and through devotion to such Saguna God, one can attain salvation. But there was another aspect of Brahma and that was Nirguna. According to this concept God or Brahma possess all the attributes or qualities; He is present everywhere and yet He is attributeless or has no form or shape. He cannot be seen. By singleminded devotion, He can be realised. This form of Bhakti is known as Nirgun Bhakti.

2

3

Ramanand was the great exponent of Nirgun Bhakti. He was born in Prayag in 1299 and died in 1414. He was born in a Kankubja family and he received his education partly at Prayag and partly at Benaras. His first teacher was a Vedantist and later he became a disciple of Raghavanand who belonged to the Sri sect of Ramanujacharya. A little later he found that his ideas were too radical

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1. Dr. Tara Chand, "Influence of Islam on Indian Culture", p.109-10; Yusuf Husain, op.cit. p.5-10; A.L. Srivastava, op.cit.p.79-80.
 2. Yusuf Husain op.cit. p.11-13; Leay, op.cit. p.3-4; Dr.Tara Chand op.cit. p. 111; A.L. Srivastava op.cit. p. 80-94.
 3. Parashuram Chaturvedi, Uttar Bharat Ki Sant Parampara; p.230-31; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p. 143; A.L. Srivastava, op.cit. p.94; Yusuf Husain, op.cit. p.13-14; Keay, op.cit. p. 4.
 4. P.D. Barthwal "Nirgun School of Hindi poetry", p. 249; Ramanand Sampradaya, p.76. Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit.p.144, Parashuram Chaturvedi, Uttar Bharat Ki Sant Parampara, p. 22; A.L. Srivastava, op.cit. p. 94.
 5. Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit.p.144; Parashuram Chaturvedi, op.cit.p.22

and therefore he decided to establish his own school.¹ Ramanand spent greater part of his life at Benaras, attacked the caste system and idol worship and made his disciples among the members of the lower castes.² He and his followers believed in one personal, spiritual and invisible God,³ called Ram. The followers of Ramanand were called Ramanandis, Vairagis and Aydhuts. They led a simple life and preached a simple philosophy. In the course of time the Ramanandis established large number of centres in Uttar Pradesh. The most important centres were at Allahabad, Benaras, and Ghunar.⁴ The disciples of Ramanand were Anantanand, Labir, Verbhayanand, Sukhnand, Padmavati, Tripta, Bhavananda, Loidas, Dharna, Jona and Sursuri.⁵ Among these Labir was most important and famous.⁶

Despite the fact that Labir was not a direct disciple of Ramanand, he was much influenced by him and he took inspiration from him. Kabir was brought up at Benaras and he lived there for a considerable length of time. Here he came in touch with a large number of saints of different sects. It is said that Ramanand was his spiritual preceptor.⁷ But according to another tradition he was a disciple of Shaikh Taqi and due to some difference with him he

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1. Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p. 145, Parashuram Chaturvedi, Uttar Bharat Ki Sant Parampara, p. 222-23; Yusuf Husain, op.cit. p. 14.15; Keay, op.cit. p. 4.
 2. Farqhar, Outlines of Religious literature, p. 327; Bhandarkar, Ramanand Sampradaya, p. 95; 166; Yeay, op.cit. p. 4.
 3. Farqhar, Outlines of Religious literature, p. 326-27.
 4. Bhandarkar, Ramanand Sampradaya, p. 503
 5. Bhandarkar, Ramanand Sampradaya, p. 166, Parashuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 223-24, Yeay, op.cit. p. 4; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p. 178-79.
 6. Keay, op.cit. p. 5, Bhandarkar, Nirgun School, p. 249; Parashuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 127, Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p. 147.
 7. Parashuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 27, 134; Yeay, op.cit. p. 7; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p. 146; P.D. Barthwal, Nirgun School of Hindu Poetry, p. 250-51.
 8. Keay, op.cit. p. 16-38; Parashuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 159

left Rasmi for Naghar.¹ It is also said that Kabir paid many visits to Pir Pitambar (probably of Jaunpur) who was a Vaishnava of liberal views, whom both the Hindus and the Muslims held in great esteem.² By precept and example and through his teachings Kabir exercised great influence on the people of the region under review. He had large number of followers who carried on his mission. By the time the Mughals entered this region which is now Uttar Pradesh, there were large number of followers of Kabir in the different parts of this region. They were known as Kabir Panthis.³ Amongst the disciples of Kabir who carried on his religious activities and propagated the ideas of Kabir were Harat Copal and Dharma Dass. Harat Copal was the founder of the Harhi branch of Kabir Panthis. The centre of his activities was Dohad. Later, this branch assumed the name of Kabir Chaura.⁴ They also controlled the activities of the Bahar centre which gradually developed as important place of the Kabir Panthis. Another school of Kabir Panthis was founded by Dharam Dass in Bundelkhand. This school was known as Chattis Garhi school of Kabir Panthis. There is no vital difference between the two schools of thought except in certain ritualistic practices.⁵

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1. Parashuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 150; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p.148.
 2. P.D. Barthwal, Nirgun School of Hindi Poetry, p.15; Keay, op.cit. p.68-92.
 3. Keay, op.cit. p. 23
 4. Keay, op.cit.p.93-94; Parashuram Chaturvedi, op.cit.p.253,263; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p.131.
 5. Keay, op.cit.p.93-97; Parashuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p.276; P.D. Barthwal, Nirgun School of Hindi Poetry, p. 250-51; Husain, op.cit. p.27.

The Labir Chaura school did not deem it proper for the Guru to marry, whereas the Chhattis Garhi school had no such restrictions. The gaddi panthis of the Labir Chaura do not visit the holy places of Unnollhand, nor the Labir Panthis of the Chhattis Garhi do not visit the Labir Chaura at Benaras and Indhar.¹ The Labir Panthis of Labir Chaura and Maghar would not admit women to their sect but the Chhattisgarh panthis have no such restriction. Then there was difference in putting tilak. In the Labir Chaura branch only one mantra was given to its disciples, but the Labir Panthis of Chhattisgarh branch used to give two to three mantras viz. the Guru, tilak and Mantras. Like the Labir Chaura branch did not believe in the 'prarch' or Gurus, the Chhattisgarh branch believed in it. Besides the followers of Labir Chaura branch did not recognise the Gurus of the other branch.

Gurat Gopal the immediate disciple of Labir was recognised as Guru by the Labir Panthis of Maghar. At Indhar there were two shrines of Labir, one of the Hindu and other of the Muslims. The Hindu shrine was in the hands of Hindu Pularis, who derived their authority from the Labir Chaura of Benaras. Gurat Gopal Dass held the gaddi of Labir Chaura in 1559 and died in 1574. Even after the death of Gurat Gopal the Guru Parampara of this school continued.⁵

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1. Leay, op.cit. p.105
 2. Leay, op.cit. p. 152
 3. Dr. Tara Chandra, op.cit. p. 181; Leay, op.cit. p.9
 4. Dr. Tara Chandra, op.cit. p. 191; Leay, op.cit. p. 24
 5. Parashuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 264.

As regards the Labir Panthis of Chhattisgarh branch, it is related that the branch was founded by one Dharam Dass. The Panth owes a great deal to Dharam Dass for its growth and development in Bundelkhand¹. According to a tradition Dharam Dass was Kaniya by caste and lived at Bandogarh. His real name was Sudhwan and it is said that Labir changed his name into Dharam Dass.² Not much is known about this branch of the Labir Panthis, except the succession of Gurus.³ Dharam Dass had two sons, 'Iranjan Das' and Churamani. After Dharam Dass the latter succeeded to the gadi of Labir Panthis at Bandogarh.⁴

Both the Labir Chaura branch of Kashi and Naghar and the Chhattisgarh branch of Labir Panthis exercised tremendous influence over the masses of this region. All the three branches remained popular in this region.

Besides the Labir Panthis a number of other sects of the Virgun philosophy flourished in the different parts of the region under review. The other school of thought was Tawari Panth.⁵ It was an off shoot of a tradition laid down by Swami Ramanand, who lived at Ghazipur. Swami Ramanand was different from great saint Ramanand, therefore he should not be confused. Swami Ramanand was

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1. Keay, op.cit. p. 37; Parashuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 264
 2. Keay, op.cit. p. 37; Parashuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 370; Yusuf Husain, op.cit. p.
 3. Keay, op.cit. p. 33.
 4. Keay, op.cit., p. 33; Parashuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 272
 5. Parashuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 475

in fact a disciple of Bani Jagdvan d.¹ One of his disciples gained popularity among the common people. Among them was one Bani Sahib, who was the founder of the Bani Sahib.² The following was the Shishya Parampara of Bani Sahib :

Bani Jagdvan d.

Bani Sahib

Bani Sahib, Bani Sahib, Bani Sahib, Var. Sahib.

Bani Sahib, Bani Sahib, Bani Sahib, Bani Sahib, Bani Sahib,

Jagdevan Sahib, Bani Sahib.

Most of the disciples of Bani Sahib preferred to remain at Delhi, but Bani Sahib returned to the original seat of the sect and established himself at Bharunda in Chhapra and remained there until his death in 1700.⁴

The first four disciples of Bani Sahib did not care for the propagation of the ideology of this school. Bani Sahib's mission was carried on by Bani Sahib, who propagated his teaching with zeal and enthusiasm in the different parts of Uttar Pradesh.⁵ The saints and followers of this sect believed in

1. Ibid, p.470

2. Ibid, p.470

3. Ibid, p. 478

4. Ibid, p.470-80

5. Ibid, p. 478; L. L. Barthwal, Modern School of Hindi Poetry, p. 233.

in the life, a stateless society and a mindless devotion to God.

Dulla Saib's real name was Dullu qidari. He was Khatri by caste. He was employed by an Arab Sahib to plough his fields. But later impressed by his devotion, he asked him to follow his path and become his disciple.¹ Dulla Saib had two disciples, Gulab Sahib and Rajeevadas. The latter was born in Barabanki district in 1813. He spent greater part of his life at Latwa between Barabanki and Lucknow.² He was comparatively liberal in his views on, therefore, he rejected the Khatri Khatri and founded a new sect known as Patnami.

PATNAMI SECT

The origin and development of the Patnami sect is shrouded in mystery. There seems to have been two centres of this sect, Baranaul and Barabanki. It is quite probable that before the Patnamis of Baranaul were crushed, a few followers of that sect migrated to Latwa in Barabanki district and established themselves there. The difference between the Patnamis of Baranaul and Latwa were much. The followers of the Baranaul school were mostly int farmers; they had no sacred book of the sect or they mostly included lawless Hindus. Whereas, the Latwa branch had members of high class society of Hindus, they were mostly well read; they believed

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1. Harshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p.430-33; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p. 302; F.F. Barthwal, Uttar Pradesh School of Hindi Poetry, op.cit. p.264.
 2. Harshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p.433; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p.200; F.F. Barthwal, op.cit. p.264.
 3. Harshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p.538-40; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p.132, 133, op.cit. p.136.
 4. Harshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p.540-42
 5. Harshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p.543-45.

in simple spiritual life and they had sacred works such as Janam
Prakash, Maanralaya, and Prathan Granth.¹ They believed in unity
of God.

The followers of this sect were in different parts of this
region and especially in the places such as Allahabad, Agra,
Farrukhabad and Mirzapur and other places.²

THE BATHS

The sect of Baths was popular in Upper India. This sect
was founded in 1543 by Birbhan. He was the disciple of certain
Uday Dass. Uday Dass was one of the disciples of Haidas, who was
a disciple of Namanand.³ This sect flourished in Farrukhabad,
Mirzapur and other places of Uttar Pradesh. Farrukhabad was the
chief centre of the Baths.⁴

MALUK DASS

One of the most important and greatest saint of Uttar
Pradesh in the Mughal period was Sant Maluk Dass. He was born at
Kara in 1574 and died in 1682. He had both Hindu and Muslim
followers.⁵ He was disciple of Purar Birmi Maluk Dass had a number
of disciples. Sant Maluk Dass was one of those saints who believed
in the gospel of truth and whose teachings spread far and wide.⁶

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1. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 543-45
 2. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 546-47; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p. 192.
 3. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 323-22; Leay, op.cit. p. 164; According to Dr. Tara Chand the Sadhs and Satnams were the same but in fact they were different sects. See Parshuram Chaturvedi Uttar Bharat ki Sant Parampara, op.cit. p. 391-97; Leay, op.cit. p. 164.
 4. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 403; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p. 19
 5. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 505; Pravak Pradeep, p. 148; P. 7. Barthwal, Nirgun School of Hindi Poetry, op.cit. p. 262; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p. 139.

is followed in due course of time established centres at Jaunpur, Gaya, Multan and Patna.¹ After the death of Baluk Das, his sister's son and disciple Mathradass wrote a versified biography of Baluk Das, entitled Parichay.² It is said that Mir Madho originally named Math Khan an official of Aurangzeb's army was sent to summon Baluk Das to the imperial court, but he was so overcharged with the influence of Baluk Das that he accepted his discipleship and remained at Kara during the rest of his life.³ It is related that Baluk Das was the son of Lal under Das who was a Lhattri by caste and with surname of Lakkar.⁴ Nothing is known about his early life and education. Therefore, his nephew Hanu Chay succeeded him his gaddi.⁵ The main characteristics of his teachings was that he laid great stress on Guru and God and believed in the supremacy of God and he was greatly devoted to him.⁶ During his lifetime Maluk Das became quite famous. There is no reference about his visit to any place with a view to preach and propagate his own views. It is said that Guru Tegh Bahadur, came to Kara and met Baluk Das.⁷

In addition to the forementioned saints there were a host of others who carried on their missionary activities in the different parts of Uttar Pradesh. These saints carried on their religious and spiritual quests, established their own schools and

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1. Patshuram Chaturvedi, op. cit. p. 512; Dr. Tara Chand, op. cit. p. 189; P.D. Barthwal, op. cit. p. 262.
 2. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 505; P.D. Barthwal, op.cit.p.21
 3. P.D. Barthwal, Hirgun School of Hindi Poetry, p. 262; Parshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 512.
 4. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 505; P.D. Barthwal, op.cit.p.262
 5. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p.508
 6. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p.502-10; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p. 189-90.
 7. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op. cit. p. 512.

attracted large number of followers belonging to different classes of Hindu-Muslim society. Amongst them one was Raidass. He was a cobbler by caste and was very popular among the lower classes of the Hindu society. He was born at Banaras and his father's name was Bagghu.¹ His ideas were not different from Kabir and like him he also believed in an absolute God.² He is said to have been a disciple of Ramanand.³

The other saint, worth mentioning was Genseth Barber, who lived at the court of Baghela chief of Bandogah. Here established a panth called sansapati. He influenced the Baghela chiefs and later became the spiritual preceptor of one of the Baghela chiefs.⁴

There was another aspect of Bhakti, known as agun Bhakti. In the region under review it also flourished side by side. To a common man the idea of concentration on Brahma without any quality, or form was difficult. It was easier to concentrate on something very concrete than on something abstract. The result was that while the highly intellectual and mentally disciplined class continued to concentrate on the Nirgun Brahma, the average man remained in quest of some appealing and attractive form of God on

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1. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p.236-38; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p.179; P.D. Barthwal, op.cit. p. 250.
 2. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p. 242; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p. 180.
 3. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p.227; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p. 172; P.D. Barthwal, op.cit. p. 250.
 4. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op.cit. p.230-33; Dr. Tara Chand, op.cit. p. 172; P.D. Barthwal, op.cit. p. 250.

whom he could concentrate. The concept of Ram as Krishna as supernatural being with all the qualities was already known to the people of this region. The raguna aspect was associated with them and, therefore, two different schools of thought, one believing in Ramaité cult and the other in Krishnaite cult came into being. The cult of Rama therefore owes its origin to Anand.

The period in the region under review saw the growth and development besides, the popularisation of these two cults. Tulsidas was responsible for the popularisation of the Ram Bhakti cult in Uttar Pradesh.¹ His spiritual preceptor was Nabhari Dass, who was born in 1505 in the village named Nabhrauli in the pargana Balmau near Banikpur in the subah of Allahabad.² Nabhari was a famous poet and was respected at the Mughal court. He visited the court of Humayun, Sher Shah and Akbar and also the court of the Baghel chief of Mandogarh.³ While the conflict between Hinduism and Vaishnavism was going on unabated in the region under review, Nabhari continued to believe in one absolute God, and his God was no other person than Rama. It was from him that Tulsidas derived great inspiration.

Tulsidas was born in 1532.⁴ He was a Brahmin by caste and his real name was Ram Dholu.⁵ He formerly used to live at Ajarur,

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1. George A. Grierson, Modern Vernacular Literature, p. 42-43; K. S. Jindal, A History of Hindi Literature, p. 52-53; Ram Chandra Shukla, History of Hindi Literature, p. 26; Nazari Prasad Dwivedi, Hindi Sahitya ka Itihas, p. 144; Mata Prasad Gupta, Tulsi Dass p. 139.
 2. Mata Prasad Gupta, Tulsi Dass, p. 171; Sarju Prasad Agarwal, Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi, p. 54-55.
 3. Sarju Prasad Agarwal, op.cit. p. 58-59, 298-299, 300.
 4. Mata Prasad Gupta, op.cit. p. 138-9; Nazari Prasad Dwivedi, Hindi Sahitya ka Itihas, p. 142; Ram Chandra Shukla, Hindi

but later shifted to Chaitanya. He also lived at Benares for considerable time. ¹ He accepted himself as an incarnation of Brahma, the supreme God. His aim was an ideal for the society one who was perfect in every way. He completed his 30,000 aritmanas in 1504 at Benares and lived up to 1534. ² From that time Benaras became the centre of the Shakti cult. The entire credit of development and popularisation of this cult goes to him. He developed the philosophy of devotion so thoroughly that there was no room left for the coming generation to make any improvement in it or to contribute new elements to it. It must be admitted that his influence was great on the Hindu society.

In addition to Ram who was worshipped as an incarnation of throughout the length and breadth of this region, Lord Krishna was also worshipped. He was another incarnation of Brahma, endowed with all the qualities of God. The concept of aruna Brahma in form of Lord Krishna also appealed to the masses, hence the latter became popular. The cult so developed is known as Krishnaite cult. The leading saints belonging to this school of thought were Vallabhacharya, Gopinath, Vithalnath, Nomanana and others.

Vallabhacharya, a Telugu Brahman by caste belonged to Telinagana and was a contemporary of Chaitanya. ³ His father Ishshman Bhatt has come to the north on pilgrimage. It was during the course of the journey that Vallabhacharya was born at Benaras in ⁴ 1478. Vallabh received his education at Benaras and received inspiration from Lord Krishna and called himself an incarnation of Agni.

After he became a monk in the holy order of Vishnu
and. His haloed head is called or bluish vair or
pure white. His hair is different from the hair of
Shankara, who was bald in his teachings. After his father's
death Vallabha left Benaras and went to his maternal uncle at
Vijaynagar.¹ He travelled widely, performed pilgrimages, visited
the most important holy centres, where he met numerous saints.
In 1402 he visited Braj and built a small temple of Govardhan,
where he installed the idol of Anantaji.² After that he
returned to Benaras and here he married himself. Later he came
to Prayag and was attracted by Ramji (Arail) where he establi-
shed an ashram.³ The school still exists and is famous as Dhan
of Mahaprabhu. After that, he returned to Braj and settled down
in Govardhan.⁴ It is related that Chaitanya met Vallabha. On 31st.
August, 1530 Vallabha died at Benaras at the age of fifty two.⁵
He had two sons Copinath who was born at Arail and another son
Vithalnath who was born at Bhubani in 1515.⁶ The latter received
his early education at Arail. His father Vithalnath also
spent his time in study and devotion first in Arail and then in
Braj. About 1566 he shifted to Braj and lived for some time at
Cokul.⁷ About 1571 he settled down at Cokul.

1. Ibid, p. 70

2. Ibid, p.71

3. Ibid, p.71

4. Ibid, p.71

5. Din Dayal Gupta, Asht Chap Aur Vallabha Japrahasa, Vol. I
p. 73; A.L. Privastava, Akshai the Great, Vol. III, p.65.

6. Din Dayal Gupta, op.cit. p. 72

7. Ibid, p. 75-77.

Swami Vitthalnath was the first acharya of the Vallabha Sampradaya, who came into contact with the Mughal Emperor Akbar. The latter was greatly impressed by his saintliness. On 15th. October, 1577 emperor Akbar gave a malati-maasi grant, consisting of the village of Gokul near Mathura of Swami Vitthalnath for his support and the support of his diety Shrinathji. The Gosain was assured of full protection and freedom of worship in his own ¹boy. Three years and half later the emperor accorded the permission to his cows to graze, wherever they may be without any hindrance in the Malwa and Jaipur land (21st March 1581).² In the year 1588 the village of Jatinalwa was conferred on him as free grant in perpetuity. Five years after Akbar granted to cows, attached to the temple of Govardhan the privilege of free grazing in the Malwa and the neighbouring villages.³ Here in Gokul Swami Vitthalnath carried on his religious and literary activities freely. Akbar too delighted in discussing with him on question relating to the other world. Akbar is said to have paid visits to him in Brindaban. We are also informed that Akbar invited the Swami to his court to discuss with him religious questions. Akbar's ministers Todar Mal and Birbar, who were strong vaishnavites and worshippers of Lord Arishna had close and intimate relations with

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1. L.N. Jhaveri, Imperial Farmans; Din Dayal Gupta, op.cit, p.77
 2. L.N. Jhaveri, Imperial Farmans, No. 2-3.
 3. L.N. Jhaveri Imperial Farmans No. IV.
 4. Din Dayal Gupta, op. cit. p. 77.

and with death. ¹ Both of them extended to him necessary help.
and with death in 1575.

After the death of Nihalnath his sons divided the inheritance and shared his possessions and each built a temple for worship. The temple of the devils was founded by the Mughal Emperor Akbar on the 10th day of the month of Chaitra by the death of Aurangzeb. ³ After the death of Withnath his son Girdhar Dass succeeded him as head of the Vallabha Sampradaya. But his fourth son Gokulnath, being a scholar and an energetic man, rose to great prominence than his elder brother. Gokulnath was born in 1551 and died in 1640. ⁴ He was a contemporary of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan.

The basic ideology of Vallabha Sampradaya remained unchanged except that Vallabha's followers twisted it according to their own views. As regards the philosophy of Vallabha it was totally against Shankara's views. He acknowledged that intelligence may realise God through knowledge but his own method was the way of Bhakti. Bhakti to him was a means and not an end.. Bhakti according to him was given by God and it comes by his grace. This grace in his system was known as Prasadi, so it was called as Prasadi Marg. The followers of Vallabha were not rigid in the matters of

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1. Dr. Dayal Gupta, Asht Chap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya, Vol. I, p. 77; A.I. Brivestava, Akbar the Great, Vol. III, p. 83.
 2. Dr. Dayal Gupta, op. cit. p. 80.
 3. A.M. Jhaveri, Imperial Legends; Dr. Dayal Gupta, op. cit. p. 78.
 4. Dr. Dayal Gupta, Asht Chap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya, Vol. II, p. 395-422; A.I. Brivestava, Akbar the Great, Vol. III, p. 83. Farqhar, Outlines of Religious Literature, p. 313.

Vallabha and Madhva in the way of Thakur. He could be worshiped in any way. The most essential thing is a complete devotion to God.

Vallabha's son Vithalnath, who later became the head of the Madhva collected all the eight disciples of his father and established a group of his own roots-cum-branches known as Asht Chap. There were eight principal poets-cum-composers, four of whom were Bur Dass, Parmanand and, Madhva and Madhva and the other four were Bur Dass Madhva, Madhva, Madhva and Chhit. All of them participated in the Madhva at Govardhan and composed Madhva for Madhva's activities in the Madhva.

The most prominent exponent of the Madhva in the 16th cent was Madhva. The date and place of his birth and his early life are subject of controversy amongst the modern scholars. It is almost certain that he was not the same Madhva, who is mentioned in Madhva in the Madhva of Madhva, and the poet musician of Madhva's court. No contemporary writer ever cared to record anything about the birth and parentage or early life of Madhva. However, he was born about the year 1570. He spent his childhood at Madhva near Madhva. He met Madhva about 1599. The latter made him his disciple. Thereafter, Madhva paid frequent visits to Madhva and Madhva and it is said that he had once seen

1. Din Dayal Gupta, Asht Chap Aur Vallabha Madhva, Vol. I, p. 1; A.L. Srivastava, Albar the Great, Vol. III, p. 75.
2. Din Dayal Gupta, op.cit., p. 122-23; A.L. Srivastava, op.cit., p. 86.

Akbar at Mathura at latter's request.¹ Sur Das died in 1530 at
Parsali near Govardhan at the age of 103.² His main works are
Sur Sagar, Sur Saravali and Latitva Sahiri.³

Another remarkable and well known poet and saint of this region was Parmanand. He was also a disciple of Vallabhecharya. He was not economically well off and was a Brahmin by caste and belonged to a family which resided in Kanauj in the Farrukh bad district of Uttar Pradesh. It is said that he was born in 1493-1494 and thus fifteen years younger than Vallabha. He met the latter at Aroli and followed him in 1500-01. He was closely related to the philosophical development of Bhakti Marg.⁴ He was a prolific writer. He wrote important works such as Janleela, Dhruva-Charita, Natan Mala and Parmenand Sagar.⁵ He was worshiper of Lord Krishna and Radha and his ideal was Gopi Bhav. He died in 1535.⁶ His compositions are of very high order. He was also a great musician. He wrote in Rij Bhasa and great was his influence on the religious life of the people of this region.⁷

Rumbhan Das, who belonged to the Gorba Kshatriya family was born at Jamunavato village near Govardhan. He was also another disciple of Vallabha. Emperor was very much impressed by his poems. He died at the age of one hundred thirteen years.⁸

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1. Din Dayal Gupta, op.cit. p. 200-212; A.L. Srivastava, op.cit. p. 200
 2. Din Dayal Gupta, op. cit. p. 213-2
 3. Ibid, p. 279.
 4. Din Dayal, Asht Chap Sur Vallabha Samp. Praya, Vol. I. p. 217
 5. Ibid, p. 221-22
 6. Ibid, p. 229
 7. Ibid, p. 229
 8. Ibid, p. 231-33; 235, 242-43.

Akbar at at'ura at latt i's request.¹ Sur Das died in 1530 at
Barsali near Govardhan at the age of 103.² His main works are
Sur Sagar, Sur Saravali and Lalitva Laliri.³

Another remarkable and well known poet and saint of this
region was Parmenand. He was also a disciple of Vallabhecharya.
He was not economically well off and was a Brahmin by caste and
belonged to a family which resided in Kanauj in the Farrukh bad
district of Uttar Pradesh. It is said that he was born in 1493-
1494 and thus fifteen years younger than Vallabha.⁴ He met the
latter at Arai in 1500-01. He was closely related
to the philosophical development of Bhakti Marg.⁵ He was a proli-
fic writer. He wrote important works such as Janleela, Dhruva-
Charita, Ratan Lal and Parmenand Sagar.⁶ He was worshiper of
Lord Krishna and Radha and his ideal was Gopi Bhav. He died in
1585.⁷ His compositions are of very high order. He was also a
great musician. He wrote in Bij Bhava and great was his influence
on the religious life of the people of this region.

Kumbhan Dass, who belonged to the Gorba Ishtriya family
was born at Jamunavato village near Govardhan. He was also another
disciple of Vallabha. Emperor was very much impressed by his poems.
He died at the age of one hundred thirteen years.³

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1. Din Dayal Gupta, op.cit. p. 200-212; A.L. Griyastava, op.cit.p26
 2. Din Dayal Gupta, op. cit. p. 213-2
 3. Ibid, p. 279.
 4. Din Dayal, Asht Chap Aur Vallabha Chand. Prava, Vol. I.p.212
 5. Ibid, p. 221-22
 6. Ibid, p. 299
 7. Ibid, p. 289
 8. Ibid, p. 231-33; 235, 242-43.

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Yon² Dass, was a Pankubjya Brahmin and belonged to Hampur villag near Golul and Mathura. He too came into contact with Vallabha and became his disciple. He died in 1612 A.D.¹

Another important poet cum saint who was an active member of Rushti Marg was Chaturbhuj Dass. He was born at Jamunavato in Bra.. He was the son of Kumbhan Dass. He received his education from his father and Swami Vithal Dass and later joined the Vallabha² Sampradaya.

Jovind Swami was another saint of the Vallabha Sampradaya. He was born in Atalgava and before he came into contact with Vallabha sect, he used to live at Bahagan. He was born in Brahmin³ family. He was also well versed in music. He died in 1642.

Abhit Swami was born in Mathura. Before he came into contact with Vallabha Sampradaya he used to sing in the temple of Shrinathji at Goverdhan. Later he joined this Sampradaya.⁴

Thus all the Ashta Chap poets cum saints belonged to the reign covered by Uttar Pradesh. Each of them made a decisive contribution in literary and religious sphere.

OTHER RELIGIOUS SECTS OF THIS REGION

A very important sect which was very popular in this region was the Shaivite sect. The founder of the Nathpanthi sect was

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1. Ibid, p. 255, 258-61
 2. Ibid, p. 262-63, 266
 3. Din Dyal, Asht Chap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya, Vol. I, p. 266-67; 267, 271-72
 4. Ibid, p. 272-3; 275-277, 278.

¹
adinath Shiva. The early history of this sect was still in the dark. The only information we have is that it grew into a sect of Lanphata, whose followers travelled throughout the length and breadth of this region. These Lanphata Jdgis established their centre at Kashi.² They were all followers of Gorakhnath, known as Gorakhnathis or Jarjanis. At regular intervals they used to assemble at the temple of Bairav at Benaras,³ which became nucleus of their activities. The followers of this sect worshipped Shiva. In addition to Shiva they worshipped one namke eighty four Siddhas. It appears that they did not have any rigid rules and regulations about Path Vora.⁴ Nor did they appear to have any religious scripture. Benaras was the only centre of the followers of Gorakhnath known as Shaivites or Lanphatas.⁵

Another popular sect of this region was Shakti. The sensual form in which the Shakti was the object of worship was called the school of the Shaktas. The tantric including the worship of the Goddesses in various forms constituted a philosophy and ideology of this school. The Shakti temple in Vinchhyachal attracted large number of worshippers, who sometime sacrificed animals there to please the Devi. The Shaktas were worshippers of Kali, Chandi and Chaumunda and others deities.

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1. Parshuram Chaturvedi, Uttar Bharat Ki Sant Parampara, p.56
 2. Ibid, p. 57
 3. Ibid, p. 56
 4. Ibid, p. 58-9
 5. Parshuram Chaturvedi, Uttar Bharat Ki Sant Parampara, p. 56-58

Towards the close of the seventeenth century a new sect became popular in the south eastern region of Uttar Pradesh. This was Pranami sect. The founder of this sect was Keshav Chandra better known as Nijanand, who was born in Kayastha family of Amarkot in Gujarat in 1581. He studied the holy books of all the religions early in his life and then became disciple of Hari Dass¹ Goswami, who belonged to the Madha Vallabha Sect. At the age of forty he attained knowledge. One of his disciples Pran Nath carried on his mission and propagated the tenets of this sect. Pran Nath though settled down in Bundelkhand and he spent greater part of his life there but his influence was felt in the region round Kalinjar.² This new sect was the combination of basic principles and philosophy of all the important religions known to the people of this country. It believed in unity of God and human brotherhood.³

There were large number of followers of Jainism in this region in the period under review. This is corroborated by numerous facts. The contemporary historians have recorded the names of the Jain saints Abul Fazal mentions about Harivijaya Suri and Bhanu Chandra Upadhyaya, two eminent Jain teachers. He also refers to their participation in the religious discussions held in

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1. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op. cit., p. 529; Dr. Tara Chand, op. cit. p. 197; Bhagwan Das Gupta, "Chatrasal Bunde-
la", p. 102-3; Lal Dass, Bitak, Edited by Dr. Mata Badal Jaiswal; Dr. Madhey Jhyam. "The Life and Work of Shri Pran Nath : A famous saint of the seventeenth Century, Journal of Historical Research, Ranchi, 1969, p. 15.
 2. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op. cit., p. 530-31;
 3. Parshuram Chaturvedi, op. cit. p. 534-35.

¹
Ibadat Khana. Both of the forementioned Jains remained at the Mughal court till Akbar's death in 1605. Being impressed by their ideas, Akbar had given them complete religious freedom.² he had ordered that their temples should not be pulled down and in the Month of Bhadon no cattle should be slaughtered in the cities they live.³ The orders which were issued by the Mughal Emperors from time to time in favour of the Jains strengthens the view that Jainism was a popular religion in Uttar Pradesh in this period.

No account of the religious atmosphere and the religions in existence in this region would be complete without a reference to the religion and the religious movements^{of} the Muslims. It is rather very difficult to give an exact date about the infiltration of Islam and the arrival of the Muslims in this region. But it can be safely asserted that it did not follow the flag. On the contrary it preceded it. Much before the arrival of the Turkish conquerors, the Muslims had entered this region and settled in different parts of this region. After the establishment of the Turkish rule in this region the Muslim population continued to grow. At the same time the arrival of the Sufi saints of different orders and their settlement visa vis their activities brought about

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1. A.N. (Tarana) Vol. III, p. 365; V.A. Smith, "Akbar the Great Mughal", p. 166; M.L. Chaudhary, Din Ilahi, p. 155-162.
 2. A.N. Vol. III, p. 365; K. Krishna Murti, "Akbar : the religious Aspect", p. 76.
 3. K. Krishna Murti, "Akbar; the religious Aspect", p. 87. Dr. A.L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great", Vol. I, p. 266, 267.

radical change in the religious atmosphere in this region. The followers of the new religion influenced and were influenced by others. By the time Baber entered this region it had already passed through a critical period. So far as the common people were concerned they were hardly affected by any school of Islamic Philosophy, whether liberal or conservative.

In the period and region under review two movements running parallel to each other are noticeable : orthodox or conservative and liberal movements. Among the orthodox movements in Islam which gained momentum in the region under review the most important was Mahdavi movement, a movement which aimed to revive the spirit of Islam by purging anti-Islamic practices. The movement was started by a group of ambitious persons who pretended to be promised Mahdi, sent by God to restore the prestige of Islam. Such persons strengthened the common belief that a Mahdi would appear to re-establish peace, prosperity, justice and to glorify Islam. Such Mahdis began to appear from time to time.¹ During the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq, one Buknuddin of Delhi claimed to be the Mahdi and proclaimed that he knew the mysteries of science of letters and that he was the Prophet of God.² Then during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, Sayyid Muhammad a great scholar declared himself to be a promised Mahdi at Jaunpur. He was expected to purify Islam and propagate

1. For the details about the origin of the Mahdavi Movement, see, S.A. Rizvi, 'Muslim revivalist Movements in Northern India', p. 68-69. Mohd. Yasin, 'A Social History of Islamic India, p. 133-134.

2. Ibid, p. 74-75.

the doctrines. Being a famous religious personality of Jaunpur he did influence the people of Jaunpur. But he did not survive for long to carry on his mission. The movement continued even after his death.¹

In Uttar Pradesh Jaunpur was one of the centre of this movement. Later Sheikh Abdullah Niazi and Sheikh Alai imbibed the Mahdi doctrines as propounded by Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri and exerted greatly to propagate them. Mian Abdullah Niazi was originally a disciple of Sheikh Salim Chishti and on his return from Mecca had settled at Sikiri and started propagating the doctrines of Mahdavi movement. Sheikh Alai² was the son of³ and was a learned man. He had numerous disciples. He also proclaimed himself to be the Chief Sheikh at Bayana but soon he fell under the influence of Mian Abdullah Niazi and became his disciple. Like their predecessors, the two leaders of this movement asked the Muslims to lead a pure and simple life and repose trust in an absolute God. The emphasis was on the Islamic ideals and pursuance of their ideals in day to day life. They believed in equality, purity and self abrogation. It is said that they kept themselves fully armed and did not hesitate in using force to compel the Muslims to observe the tenets of Islam rigidly. Besides, they had their own organisation, known as Daira in the principal cities and towns where the believers of Mahdi assembled in quest of knowledge and truth.⁴

1. Bhadaoni, 'Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh'. Vol. I, p. 319; 'Ain, Vol. I, p. 373; B.A. Rizvi, op. cit. p. 75-76, 101; Qamar-uddin, "Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri and Mahdavi Movement in India, "Studies in Islam, Jan-Oct. 1971, Vol. VIII, p.165. Mohd. Yasin op.cit. p. 135.

The political, economic and social implication of the Wahdavi movement were so far reaching that it attracted the attention of Islam Shah Sur (1545-53). He summoned Sheikh Alai at the court tried him and exiled him to Mindiya, where too he continued his activities. Ultimately he was brought back to the court and flogged to death in 1547-50.¹ Even though he had been put to death the movement continued to draw a number of Muslims to its fold. The movement could not be put down by force.²

Kalpi was another centre of the Wahdavis Sayyid Muhammad had himself stayed there for some time. Mulla Abdur Qadir Badaoni himself met him in 1559-60 while he was returning from Chunar. Sheikh Burhan son of Tajuddin Ansari had accepted the Mahdavi faith due to the influence of Miyan Allahdad of Bari,³ a disciple of Sayyid Muhammad. Malik Muhammad Jaisi was another famous disciple of Sheikh Burhan of Kalpi. Jaisi himself has mentioned in Padmavat and Akhravat that he was the disciple of Sheikh Burhan of Kalpi who belonged to the Mahdavi faith.⁴

During the early years of Akbar's reign the movement was very much popular in this region. But no sooner Akbar introduced the policy of religious toleration than the orthodox section

1. S.A. Rizvi, op. cit. p. 124-129; A.P. Tripathi, op. cit. p. 148-152; A.L. Srivastava, 'Akbar the Great, Vol. III, p. 112. S.M. Latif Agra Historical descriptive, p. 251-2, Mohd. Yasin op. cit. p. 137.

2. Badaoni, 'Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh, vol. I, p. 406, 408, vol. II, p. 520-25; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari, vol. II, p. 115-118; S.A. Rizvi, op. cit. p. 130.

3. Badaoni, Muntakhab-ul-tawarikh (Trans). Vol. III, p. 10-11.

4. S.A. Rizvi, op. cit. p. 131-32.

of the Muslim population became more active and a reaction began¹ the policies of the state and the emperor. In 1570 and 1581 the Qazis of the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh issued fatwa of heresy and stirred the movement. In this respect it may be recalled that it was Mulla Muhammad Yazdi the Qadr of Jaunpur who issued the fatwa in 1581. However, the movement was suppressed no doubt but the reaction did not die out completely². In short it can be said that the Mahdavi movement during the rest part of Akbar's reign could not affect either the state or the people. Nor could it compel the emperor to give up his liberal views on religion and state or tolerant religious policy.

Akbar's efforts to bring about national integration and Indianisation did not prove to be permanent. The orthodox Islam with its inherent capacity to reassert periodically for the position of absolute superiority and the way of life would not accept the changes introduced by Akbar. Some of the reactionary Ulema did not give up their efforts to restore Islam to its pre-eminent and unchallenged position in India. They were opposed to Akbar's policy of eclecticism and having placed other religions at par with Islam. The most important among these Muslim divines, who devoted their entire time and energy and scholarship to the cause of restoration of Islam to its original dominant position³ in this region were Sheikh Abdul Haq Dehalvi (1557-1642) and

1. R.P. Tripathi, "Rise and fall of the Mughal Empire," p. 255.

2. Badaoni, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 126.

3. S.A. Rizvi, 'Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India', p. 175; Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh (Trans) Vol. III, p. 171.

Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624). The latter earned the title¹ of Mujahid Alfsani. Both of them were supported by large number of orthodox Muslims.

Sheikh Abdul Naq Muhaddis Deha vi, after his early education went to Fatehpur Sikri, where he accepted subsistence allowance from Akbar. Later the atmosphere at the Mughal court did not suit him, therefore he left for Delhi and from there went to Mecca in 1586-87. Though he could not influence much the region under review but his presence must have given inspiration to Muslims of this region to think like him. Apart from him there was another person, who to a great extent carried forward the revivalist movement. He was Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi.² It is true that he did not belong to this region but he did influence the orthodox class of this region. He was son of well known divine Abdul Ahaad. He was born at Sirhind on 26th May, 1564. After completing his education he established his contacts with the Chishti, Suhrawardi and Qadiri orders of the Sufis but ultimately he became the disciple of Baqi Billah the head of the Naqshabandi Silsilah in Hindustan. He surpassed his master in fame and became the founder of the new order Mujaddidiah, a branch of the Naqshbandi order. He made it the chief mission of his life to rejuvenate Islam, fight against Akbar's work of national integration and establish a true Islamic state in India.³ At the age of twenty he visited the Mughal court but finding the

1. S.A. Rizvi, op. cit., p. 202-40.

2. S.A. Rizvi, op. cit., p. 202;

3. S.A. Rizvi, op. cit. p. 202.

atmosphere not congenial, he returned from there. From then onward he started his mission. He began to poison the ears of Akbar's nobles, tried to wean them away from emperor's policies¹ but he did not succeed much in his efforts.

Not going into the details of his religious views, it would be apt to say that Mujaddid deputed some of his disciples to go to Agra, Allahabad, Oudh and Jaunpur to propagate his ideas and revive the spirit of Islam. Agra was assigned to Sheikh² Baduddin Saharanpuri. He was asked not to leave the place without his prior permission. In the beginning, Sheikh Baduddin attained some success in carrying on his mission but later when he realised that he has been misled by his preceptor he left Agra for Saharanpur. Mujaddid was much displeased with him, therefore, once again he left Saharanpur and arrived at Agra. Here the popular feelings mounted against him so much that ultimately he was imprisoned at the orders of the Mughal Emperor. Later he was released and ordered to go to Saharanpur. He died at Saharanpur³ in 1632-33.

It seems that Awadh had never any important disciple of Mujaddid to propagate his mission. And it was difficult for the disciples of Mujaddid to counteract the influence of Shah Mina and Sheikh Abdul Haq Kudaulvi, Mir Abdul Wahid Bilgrami and others in this region. The verses of Malik Muhammad Jaisi had taken roots into the hearts of the people of Awadh. As regards Allahabad,

1. Ibid, p. 223-245, 250-253.

2. Ibid., p. 271.

3. Ibid., p. 272.

Mujaddid¹ had appointed Sheikh Muhibullah there to propagate his ideas. Sheikh Muhibullah's seat was at Kara Manikpur. Later he shifted to Allahabad.

Jaunpur was assigned by Mujaddid to Sheikh Tahir Badakhshi. The latter's ancestors resided in a fort under the dependency of a postag in Badakhshan. He did not follow adequately the instructions of Mujaddid during his stay at Jaunpur, because he had been influenced much by another saint named Sheikh Abdul Aziz Jaunpuri, who was a staunch follower of Sheikh Muhiuddin Arabi. In other words Sheikh Tahir Badakhshi, as representative of Mujaddid in Jaunpur became very unpopular. This is borne out by letters which he wrote to Mujaddid.²

After the death of Mujaddid his movement seems to have weakened in the region under review. We hardly find any disciple of his carrying on his mission or propagating his ideologies.

There was another movement which ran parallel to the revivalist movement in this region. This movement can be designated as liberal movement. The liberal muslims were greatly influenced by Sufism, because a number of Sufi saints belonging to different orders had settled in different parts of this region, they had established a large number of religious centres in this region. These Sufi saints believed in unity of God and brotherhood of man. They clamoured for intellectual cum emotional communion with God.³ It is not possible here to give details about the

1. S.A. Rizvi, op. cit. p. 273-74.

2. Ibid., p. 276-277.

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Sufistic philosophy, its origin and growth. It would be sufficient to mention here that its various orders were popular in this region and it was influenced and it influenced the Shakti movement.

Abul Iqbal tells us that in Hindustan there were fourteen Sufi orders, prominent among them were the Chishti, Suhrawardi, Qadiri and Naqshabandi orders. The following saints belonged to these orders, who lived in this region and freely carried on their missionary activities.

The following is the list of the Sufi saints of different prominent orders of the region under review :-

CHISHTI ORDER :

1. Sheikh Bahuddin (d. 1540) of Jaunpur
2. Sayyid Sultan (d. 1542) of Bahraich.
3. Sayyid Ali Qawwan of Jaunpur (d. 1543).
4. Sheikh Hamza Daharsu (d. 1549) of Marnaul.
5. Sheikh Ajodhan (d. 1567) of Jaunpur.
6. Sheikh Salim (d. 1568) of Fatehpur Sikri.
7. Nai Hayik (d. 1568) of Manikpur.
8. Sheikh Budhan (d. 1585) of Khairabad.
9. Sheikh Nizam (d. 1591) of Marnaul.
10. Maulana Abdullah (d. 1597) of Sultanpur.
11. Ikhtiyaruddin (d. 1602) of Kalpi.
12. Mir Abdul Wahid (d. 1608) of Bilgram.
13. Mir Sayyid (d. 1622) of Kalpi.
14. Sheikh Abdul Jalil (d. 1633) of Lucknow.
15. Malik Muhammad (1639) of Jais.
16. Makhdum Abdur Hashid (d. 1645) of Jaunpur.

17. Pir David Inad Gesu Daraz (d.1343) of Lalpi.

18. Muhamma Isheel (d.1356) of Akbarabad.

19. Shaikh Juncin (d. 1367) of Bandila.

20. Pir Muhammad (d.1369) of Lucknow.

21. Shah Abdul Haali (1704) of Amethi - Baharanpur.¹

Shaikh Salim Chishti: He came to India in 1333² and was one of the renowned saints of Chishti order. He possessed all the virtues of his time in a most perfect manner. It is said that he performed pilgrimages to Mecca twenty four times in his life. He possessed the power of performing miracles. The grace of the Shaikh has been blessed with a son. The Shaikh died in 1371.³

ADDITIONAL NOTES:

1. Muhammad Salih (d. 1357) of Akbarabad.

ADDITIONAL NOTES:

1. Pir Abdulla (d. 1359) of Akbarabad.

2. Sayyid Muhammad (d.1364) of Sultanpur.⁵

ADDITIONAL NOTES:

1. Shaikh Muhammad Ghous Shattari

2. Sayyid Pir Shattari (d.1652) of Meerut.

3. Pir Sahib Kechgi (d.1650) of Akbarabad.

4. Maulana Muhammad (d.1652) of Jaunpur.

5. Shaikh Saqi (d. 1654) of Akbarabad.⁶

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1. See, John A. Subhan, Jurism, Appendix (A), Shaikh Salim Chishti (Ahu) (Trans. Vol. 1 p. 690).
 2. Badaoni (Trans) Vol. 11. 72.
 3. Badaoni (Trans) II. p. 112-113; 140, 201-204; Badaoni (Trans) Vol. 11. p. 356
 4. John A. Subhan, op.cit.
 5. Ibid
 6. Ibid

As regards the important centres of the Sufis in Uttar Pradesh are concerned they were at Balau, Jaunpur, Iara, Mirzapur, Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Chunar, Banikpur, Jaiz, Jambhal, Amola, Badaoni, Agra, Fathpur Sikri, Kalpi and other places.

Of those saints of the different Sufi orders, the information is available only about a few. In the foregoing list the names of others can be also added. However, among the well known saints of the region were the following:

Shaikh Muhammad Ghous: He was famous Sufi saint who held an important position in Muslim society and played significant role in contemporary politics. He was the teacher of the famous singer Ransen and of the Sufi poet Anjhan. It is said that Muhammad Ghous originally belonged to Ghazipur and it was from here that he went to Cavalior.¹ He belonged to Chhattari order and was perhaps the first saint who established contact with the Sultan of Delhi.² He was considered to be an expert on Tulat-i-Izza witchcraft.³ The Shaikh attained his popularity during the reign of Sher Shah and Akbar.

Shaikh Athan: He was an important Sufi saint of Jaunpur and earned great reputation there. He died in 1562-3.⁴

Shaikh Nizamuddin: According to a local tradition Shaikh Nizamuddin was an influential saint of Mirzapur. The place Mirzapur derived its name from him. His tomb is built there.⁵

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1. Badaoni (Trang) Vol. III, p.6-10; Ain (Trang) Vol. I, p.609; K.A. Nizami, Chhattari saints and their attitude towards the "in Medieval India" quarterly, Vol. I Oct. 1950, p.61-70.
 2. Badaoni (Trang) Vol. III, p. 8; Nizamuddin Ahmad Tabqat-i-Akbar (Trang) Vol. II, p. 66-68.
 3. Ibid
 4. Ain (Trang) Vol. I, p.538; Badaoni (Trang) Vol. III, p.66-68
 5. Azamgarh District Gazetteer, p. 223; Ain (Trang) Vol. I, p.607; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trang) Vol. II, p. 701

The other popular Sullistic order in this region was Shattariya order. The Shattari order was founded by Shaikh Abdullah Shattari, a descendant of Abdullah Shahabuddin Bohrawardi. Abdullah Shattari came to Jainpur and settled there in the time of the Sharqi kings. But later he left for Gavalior. However, his disciples continued to survive in this region to propagate the religious doctrines of Shattari order. Later respected Shaikh Muhammad Chaus. But after him his descendants paid scant attention towards the Shattari saints. Akbar's indifference towards them weakened their organization completely and they could never regain their influence and prestige in the region under review. Despite, + his son Jorangir had all the respects for Shaikh Pir of Meerut. Shah Pir lived up to 1632 and was buried in Meerut. After Shah Pir, we do not know of any saint of eminence belonging to this order in the region under review during the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.

Shaikh Muhibullah of Allahabad: He was a great scholar and a famous saint of Allahabad. He was born on 25th December, 1587 at Badarpur, a village in Gadh in the vicinity of Allahabad. Ever since his childhood he longed for traditional education. He learnt Talkhees and regulation of breath from a Sufi. His desire to acquire knowledge brought him to Lahore where he became the disciple of Mulla Abdus Salam Lahori. After completing his education Shaikh Muhibullah returned to Badarpur. Later he proceeded to Ahamdabad in search of livelihood. After some time he returned home and engaged himself in teaching. At the same time he spent his time in meditation and thinking, the principles of which had been taught to him by his first teacher. When he became over-

powered with Divine Love and his yearning for the vision of reality reached its limit," he set out again from his home in search of spiritual guide. He reached Delhi where he sought Divine guidance at the tomb of the famous Chishti saint, Kutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, who in dream guided him to go to Abu Said Gangothi. Shaikh Muhibullah thus went to Gangothi, where he became the disciple of the afore said saint. He had mystical experience here. Later he was asked by Shaikh Abu Said to go to the East to carry on his mission. Shaikh Muhibullah thus returned to his home, where he devoted himself to scholarly work. Little later he left Sadrpur and came to Bahadurpur where he became a disciple of Chishti. After staying with him for some time and visiting a few Chishti centres, he finally returned to Allahabad in 1302 at the age of forty two. He settled down at Allahabad, which hence forward became the centre of his religious activity.

It has earlier been related that in this period the religious atmosphere of this region was imbued with the doctrines of Badhat-us-shudud, propounded by Bajadid al-Fari, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, against the doctrine of Badhat-ul-wajad of Ibn-ul-Arabi. Shaikh Muhibullah decided to revive the mystical doctrines of Ibn-ul-Arabi. During his stay at Allahabad, his fame spread^{far} and wide his personality attracted the attention of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir. The latter invited him to come to the court but the Shaikh politely refused and refrained from visiting the court.

Emperor was also much attracted by Shaikh Muhibullah's "deep spiritual knowledge, coherent exposition, and scholarly interpretation of the monistic theory."

He had a great regard for the Shaikh. He carried on correspondence with him and used to seek his guidance in mystical problems. In 1681-82 when Shaikh Muhibullah Allahabadi released his Persian commentary on Fusus al Hikam, Dara sent Aburrahman Khairabadi to the Shaikh to request him to supply him a copy of the aforesaid work. Both Dara and the Shaikh possessed broad and unbiased outlook and both believed in the doctrine of Ikhatat-ul-Uluud of Ibn al Arabi. It is related that once Dara asked the Shaikh whether in administrative affairs of the state any discrimination between the Hindus and Muslims was permissible. The Shaikh replied, "The Naqir is not in a position to give exhortation. The truth is this that the thought of well being of the people must always remain in the heart of the rulers; without any discrimination of believer and infidel, because all human beings are creatures of God; and the Prophet who is the leader of the world and hereafter shows mercy to everyone without making distinctions among the pious, sinner, believer and non-believer, as it is described in Quran, "we sent thee not to save and mercy unto all human beings."

Shaikh Muhibullah Allahabadi had a large number of disciples and pupils. Among them the most famous ones were :

1. Gazi Qasbi of Allahabad: He was the disciple of Shaikh Muhibullah Allahabadi and later on he became the spiritual guide of the famous theologian and scholar Shahid Alihalwi.
2. Gazi Yusuf: was another student and disciple of Shaikh Muhibullah. He was a great theologian and jurist. After the death of his father he came Gazi of Bilgram.

3. Mulla Muhsin Fani of Kashmir, the author of Dabistan-i-Azahib who was famous for his learning and scholarship was also a disciple of Shaikh Muhibullah. Later Mulla Muhsin became a spiritual teacher.
4. Qazi Abdur Rashid, who belonged to Delhi had also received education and spiritual guidance from Shaikh Muhibullah Allahabadi. Later he became the Qazi of Arbab.
5. Shaikh Ubaidullah Fayyazi of Farar was also his pupil and disciple of Shaikh Muhibullah. He completed a commentary of Shaikh Muhibullah's famous work known as Hasviyah.
6. Qayyim Muhammad Annaui, who was a skilled mathematician and good scholar of Arabic had also received education from Abdul Qadir of Lucknow. Afterwards he arrived at Allahabad, where he became the disciple of Shaikh Muhibullah Allahabadi. Aurangzeb regarded him as his teacher and used to discuss with him on jurisprudence and Hadith.
7. Shaikh Ahmad son of Isحاق of Nasirabad, who was an eminent theologian was another disciple of Shaikh Muhibullah Allahabadi. Shaikh Ahmad was a great saint. He possessed spiritual knowledge and wonderful miraculous power. He was also a learned man and author of many works.

From the foregoing account it is clear that Shaikh Muhibullah Allahabadi was an influential man and one of the greatest scholars and thinkers of his age. He had numerous disciples and pupils. He died on 20th July, 1648.

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1. Hafiz Muhammad Tahir Ali, "Shaikh Muhibullah of Allahabad- Life and Times", Islamic Culture, July 1973, p. 341-356; G.A. Rizvi, "Muslim Revivalist Movement of Northern India", p. 336-337;

Miyan Hatim Sambhali: He was also a famous saint who spent many years of his life in quest of knowledge. He was a disciple of Shaikh Aziziullah, a learned man of Tamba who was a learned scholar of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Miyan Hatim Sambhali also spent some time in service of Alauddin Ghisati. He is said to have spent many years of his life in the country around Sambhal and Moradabad. He died in 1561-62 at Sambhal.¹

Shaikh Ahmad-i-Tambhu of Moradabad: He belonged to Sufi order. Occasionally experienced religious ecstasy. He had a sweet voice. In 1570 he was killed by a soldier to whom he had been a friend.²

Shaikh Izhar-ud-Din of Delhi: He was the disciple of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din, the line whose spiritual descent goes back to Shaikh Muhi-ud-Din. For some time he also lived at Meerut, to complete the path of Shaikh Ishaq. He was also a friend of Shaikh Jami of Coprahan. From Meerut he went to Fatehpur. He died in 1571-72 in Aethi.³

Shaikh Yakkhan of Lakori: Lakori is a palana in Jarkar district. The Shaikh was a learned man of his age. He reckoned his spiritual succession from Sayyid Ishaq of Irij, who was also a learned man. The Shaikh would never mention about the Sufi mystics in public assemblies but only in private to those who had been initiated.⁴ The Shaikh died in 1573-74.

1. While describing the scholars of 'Khat'at', Abdul Fatah places Miyan Hatim Sambhali in the category of fifth class of saint, who were familiar with Hadith. See, 'in (Trans)' p. 138. There is an epigraph fixed at the entrance of the tomb of Miyan Hatim Sambhali in the mohalla Hatim Sarai, at Sambhal. Tahqat-i-Akbari Vol. II. p. 683.

Shaykh Said of Ialimau: He was one of the successors of Shaykh Muhammad Bahar and was master of art of exorcism. He came to Lucknow, where he became very much popular.¹

Shaykh Panu of Sambhal: Both Bahar and Badaoni have mentioned about him. Shaykh Panu patronised Kaluk Bah, the father of Khur Bahar Badaoni and had a great following. There is also a local tradition about him that he was a great saint in Sambhal. In 1560 he died and was buried in a tomb near the mosque. The epigraph found on his tomb mentioned by the author of the mosque in Lucknow in 1561 mentions about his death in 961 A.D.²

Shaykh Uman of Sambhal: He was a contemporary of Miyan Fatim Sambhali. According to Fatima he took up his residence in Sambhal and died in 930 A.D.³

Shaykh Muhammad Bahar of Lucknow: In his youth he served in the army in the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi. After the conquest of India by Babar he became a disciple of Shaykh Bahlol and devoted himself to the service of God.⁴

Shaykhul-Hidiv of Bhairabad: He was a learned man. He spent his early life in teaching and giving instructions. He was a disciple of Shaykh Saffi the spiritual successor of Shaykh Said

1. Badaoni, 'Mustakhab-ul-Tawarikh' (Trans) Vol. III, p. 43

2. Jamal Muhammad Siddiqui, "Inscriptions from Sambhal" ("unpublished" paper).

3. Ibid.

4. Badaoni, "Mustakhab-ul-Tawarikh" (Trans) Vol. II, p. 43

and had from a diploma authorising him to give religious instructions. Towards the end of his life, in accordance with the imperial summons he came to Fatehpur Sikri and remained there for some time. He died in 1585.¹

Sheikh Aban of Amroha : according to Badaoni he was a traveller in the path and was mysteriously attracted but not withstanding this he neglected not even one of the observances of the pure law. The Sheikh died in 1579.²

Sheikh Abdul Gafur of Azampur :- Azampur was a pargana in Jarkar Sambhal. The Sheikh was a disciple of Sheikh Abdul Qudus of the Chishti order. He spent most of his time in giving religious instructions. He wrote treatises on the mysticism of the Sufis. He died in 1577-1578 and was buried in Azampur.³

Miyan Sheikh Abdullah of Badaun : At last he became the disciple of Miyan Sheikh Abdullah Baqi Chishti of Badaun and received instructions from him in mysticism and then he received education from Mir Sayyid Jalal of Badaun. He died at the age 90 years.⁴

Sheikh Jalaluddin of Kannauj : His ancestors came from Multan and settled at Kannauj. He was a mystic of a very high

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1. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh" (Trans), Vol. III, p. 45-46; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans). Vol. II, p. 702.
 2. Badaoni, "Muntakhabul-Tawarikh", (Trans). Vol. III, p. 63-65 Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans). Vol. III, p. 703.
 3. Badaoni, "Muntakhabul-Tawarikh" (Trans). Vol. III, p. 69-70, (Trans). Vol. I, p. 607.
 4. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh" (Trans.), Vol. III, p. 90-93.

order. He ultimately became famous for his religious life. He¹
died at Kannauj and lies buried there.

Sheikh Allah Baksh of Garhmukteshwar : Garhmukteshwar is
a town in the Meerut district and in the Jarkar Sambhal. The
Sheikh lived forty years in poverty and constantly employed in
imparting religious instructions to the students. He was noted
for resignation and according to Badaoni companionship with him²
caused one to think of God. He died at Sambhal.

Mir Sayyid Alauddin of Oudh : According to Badaoni he
possessed sublime perfections of nature and manifested miraculous
powers, of which he gave clear proofs. He died at the age of
ninety in 1589-90.³

Sheikh Hamzah of Lucknow : He was the grandson of Malik
Kakar, who was one of the nobles of Sultan Sikandar Lodi and
Ibrahim Lodhi. Sheikh Hamzah was greatly influenced by mysticism⁴
and was a noted Sufi.

Sheikh Pirak of Lucknow : He was a resident of Lucknow.
His house was situated on the banks of Gomti. Badaoni states⁵
that he met him.

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1. Badaoni, "Muntakhabul-Tawarikh", (Trans). Vol. III,
p. 93-95.
 2. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh" (Trans). Vol. III,
p. 96-97 Nizamuddin Ahmad Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans).
Vol. II, p. 704.
 3. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh" (Trans). Vol. III,
p. 101-103.
 4. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh" (Trans). Vol. III,
p. 103.
 5. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh" (Trans). Vol. III,
p. 104.

Sheikh Muhammad of Sikandara : Sikandara Rao is in the Aligarh district. Badaoni met him in 1566-67. He was also a¹ Sufi of very high order who experienced mystic fits.

Sheikh Abdul Wahid Bilgrami : He was an accomplished and a learned man, much given to austerities and devotion. He possessed attractive qualities and was a disciple of Sheikh Hasan of Sikandara and used to come every year from Bilgram to visit the latter. Badaoni met him in 1560-70 in Oudh.²

Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Amroha : He was a pious and learned man of his times. He and Badaoni's father were fellow students, who received their education from the renowned saints of Jambhal and Badaun. They received their education from Mir Sayyid Jalal and Mir Sayyid Nafiuddin. Mir Sayyid Muhammad died³ in 1578-79.

Qazi Yagub of Manikpur :- He was related to Qazi Fazilat and was well versed in practical theology and in principles of science. He used to compose verses in Arabic in Indian matters.⁴ Later he was imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior.

Sheikh Ahmadi Fayyaz of Amethi : He was a contemporary of Sheikh Nizamuddin of Amethi and was learned and pious man. Badaoni very much respected him because of his religious bent of⁵ mind.

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1. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh" (Trans). Vol. III, p. 105.
 2. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh", (Trans). Vol. III, p. 106-7.
 3. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh" (Trans) Vol. III, p. 120-123.
 4. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh" (Trans). Vol. III, p. 126-127.
 5. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh" (Trans) Vol. III, p.

Miyan Allahdad of Lucknow : He was a renowned theologian,
¹
famous for his religious ideas.

Air Sayyid Jalaluddin Jadhvi of Agra : He was one of the
greatest Sayyids of Agra famous for his religious views, piety
and resignation to the divine will. From the beginning to the
end of his life he always avoided the society of the wealthy
²
and other people.

Sheikh Abdul Ghani of Badaoni : He was one of the dis-
ciple of Sheikh Abdul Aziz. He was a great mystic. Badaoni
³
mentions that he became his disciple.

Qazi Mubarak of Gopamau : Gopamau is a pargana in the
Sarkar Khairabad in Oudh. He was also a learned man chiefly
devoted to his religion and performed his duties honestly. He
was a disciple of Sheikh Nizamuddin of Mathi and obtained know-
⁴
ledge from him.

Haji Ibrahim the traditionalist of Agra : He lived at the
Imperial Court. He lead a pious life and was a great tradi-
⁵
tionalist of his times.

Sheikh Jalal-l-Wasil of Kalpi : He was one of the spiri-
tual successors of Sheikh Muhammad Ghaus. He was a great Sufi,
⁶
who spent most of his time in Agra.

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1. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh" (Trans). Vol. III, p. 134-135.
 2. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh" (Trans). Vol. III, p. 135-136.
 3. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh" (Trans). Vol. III, p. 164-167.
 4. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh" (Trans). Vol. III, p. 188-189.
 5. Badaoni (Trans) Vol. III, p. 196; Nizamuddin Ahmad Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans). Vol. II, p. 692.
 6. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh", Vol. III, p. 196-7.

Besides, the forementioned saints and their disciples or religious men who contributed to the religious atmosphere of this region there were a host of others viz., ¹ Nadr Jahan of Pihani, ² Maulana Illahdad of Amroha, ³ Jayyid Sultan of Bahraich (1542), ⁴ Jayyid Ali Qawwan of Jaunpur (1543), Ikhtiyaruddin of Kalpi (1600), ⁵ Abdul Wahab of Bilgram and Sheikh Abdul Jalil of Lucknow (1633), ⁶ Makhdum Abdur Rashid of Jaunpur (1645), Mir Jayyid Ahmad Gesu ⁷ Daraz of Kalpi (1648), Sheikh Junaid of Sandila (1667), and Pir Muhammad of Lucknow (1667) ⁸ and many others.

No account of the religious condition of this region would be complete without a reference to the attitude of the Mughal emperors towards the Hindus of this region. It has earlier been related that by 1526 this region had witnessed the growth of a number of religious movements of the Hindus and Muslims. These movements had completely transformed the religious atmosphere and to a great extent softened the bonds of the Hindus and Muslims towards each other. By and large the conservative sections had come to believe that rigid adherence to Shariat was not possible in day to day life or in the administrative matters. Likewise the conservative Hindus had also begun to feel in similar fashion.

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1. Ibid., p. 198.
 2. Ibid., p. 219-23.
 3. Subhan, Sufism, p. 351.
 4. Ibid, p. 353.
 5. Ibid., p. 354.
 6. Ibid., p. 355.
 7. Ibid., p. 356.
 8. Ibid., p. 356.

Both these classes after much mental agony had come to believe that a liberal interpretation of Shariah and the Hindu laws was a dire necessity. Such an attitude was helpful to both the Hindus and Muslims. It is in this background that we should try to examine the attitude of the emperors towards the Hindus.

It is true that after the battle of Panipat Babur did not pay adequate attention towards the Hindus of this region but so far as he himself was concerned he did nothing to annoy or win them over. The problems confronting him were of great magnitude than relations with the non-Muslim population. It is said that he gave orders to Hindu Beg to convert the famous Vaishnav temple at Jambhal and that similar orders were given to Baqi Khan at Ayodhya, but this is far from truth. There is copious evidence to show that Babur had no hand in the conversion of these temples into mosques. It is also doubtful whether the temples were demolished or converted into mosques in his time. There is much controversy about it. However, this much is true that Babur was not an orthodox muslim nor did he believe in the destruction of holy temples or the conversion of Hindus to Islam. Besides there are references to show that he was very liberal towards the Hindus of this region. We find an inscription dated 1528 in Bhera village Kheragarh tahsil of Agra district. This inscription records the construction of the temple of Durga in 1528. Obviously this means that there was no restriction on the construction of new temples in this region.

Humayun was also very liberal in his attitude towards the Hindus from the very beginning. He made a grant of 300 acres of land in Mirzapur district in Uttar Pradesh to Jangambari Math of Benaras.¹ His attitude towards the Jains was also very liberal. He allowed them to construct their temples in this region. An inscription on the pillar standing in the mandapa of Jain temple at Deogarh dated 1534² and the construction of a temple by Narayan Dass on 17th March, 1555,³ speaks of his liberal attitude towards the non-Muslims of this region.

As regards Akbar, although there is much material in our historical works to show that he was very liberal towards the Hindus, but those facts can be confirmed by the Madad-i-Maash farmans issued by him in favour of Jangambari math of Benaras and Swami Vathal Nathji the head of the Vallabha Sampradaya⁴ and also by the inscriptions, which have been found in Hindu and Jain temples in this region.⁵ An inscription on the pedestal of a Jain image in a Jain temple at Etawah records the installation of the image by Malika on 15th May, 1560.⁶ Another stone inscription on the wall of the Govind Deo Temple in Brindaban records the construction of the temple by Maharajadhiraj Shri Man

1. S.N. Sharma, "The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors" (Asia, 1962), p. 10.
2. Progress report of Archeological Survey of India, Northern Circle (1917-18). no. 56.
3. List of Inscriptions of Northern India in Brahmi, no. 910.
4. See, Appendix.
5. See, Appendix.
6. Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy, 1954-55, No. C-426.

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Singh son of Shri Bhagwant Dass - descendant of Shri Karamkul¹ Shri Prithviraj during the reign of Shri Akbar Shah. Another inscription in the same temple records that the temple was built in 1590 under the direction of two Gurus-Nrupa and Janatan. The architects of this temple were Kalyan Das, Manikchand Ghopar, Govind Das of Delhi and Gorakhdas.² The construction of the temple started in 1577 and was completed in 1590. There is another inscription on the fine arched gateway of red sandstone in the fort of Jagner situated 18 miles to the south of Fatehgarh Sikri. This inscription mentions that the temple of Jagmandir was erected by Maharaja Dhiraj Raja Devi son of Shri Bhoj Jarmal in the reign of Akbar.³ Besides, construction of large number of temples in this region by Raja Nan Singh have been recorded.

In other matters also Akbar had given complete freedom to the Hindus of this region. For example the celebration of Hindu festivals, public worship, to hold fairs and perform pilgrimages etc. Since the details have been given by large number of scholars in their scholarly works, it is needless to repeat them here.

Emperor Jahangir followed in the foot steps of his father.

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1. Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy, 1958-59, No. C-425.
 2. Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy, 1958-59, No. 426.
 3. Archeological Survey of India Report, Vol. LXIV, (VI), p. 24.

He allowed the Hindus to build their temples. His friend Bir Singh Burd¹ built a magnificent temple at Mathura. During the reign of Jahangir more than seventy new temples were constructed at Banaras. They were not yet complete when Jahangir died. In the preceding period a large number of Jain saints enjoyed the hospitality of the Emperor Akbar. Jahangir too continued to maintain similar attitude towards the Jains of this region. A large number of inscriptions have been found in this region, bearing witness to the construction of large number of Jain temples in the region under review. The inscription found on the Panchtirath of Parasvanathji-ka-Mandir in Saadat Gunj of Lucknow records the installation of the image of Santinath by Ram Singh, son of Lal Maner Mode, resident of Medtanagar and of Samdidia Gotra and Ukesh caste² (1613). The same year the installation of the image of Malayanakji in the temple of Shri Chintamani Parasvanathji situated in Jondhi tola Lucknow in 1614 is recorded. This image was installed by Kumarpal and Sonpal, who belonged to the Lodha gotra of Oswal caste³ of Agra. A third inscription has been found in the Shanti Math temple situated in Bhoran Tola Lucknow. It mentions the installation of the image of Annatnath by Kumar Pal in 1614. Another Jain inscription found in the temple of Shri Chintamani Parasvanathji in Moshan Mohalla of Agra, which records the installation of an image of Shri Pradhan in the new temple. Two inscrip-

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1. S.A. Sharma, "The Religious policy of the Mughal Emperors", p. 83.
 2. Puran Chand Nahar, "Jain Inscriptions", Vol. II, p. 142. No. 1628.
 3. Puran Chand Nahar, "Jain Inscriptions" Vol. II, p. 101, no. 1578 to 1584.

tions have been found in two Jain temples near Agra Fort station. These record the installation of the image of Adinath by Sangha Makhya Jadhva Pachcha and others of Agra in April, 1614. Another inscription records the gift of the image of Nishibha Nath by the same persons of Oswal caste in the same year. Another inscription dated 1617 records the installation of an image in one of the temples. The temple of Jugul Kishore, which stands near the Kesi Ghat at Bindraban records the construction of the temple in 1627 by Non-Karan, a Chauhan Thakur and the elder brother of Raisol, who had built the temple of Gopinath. It also records the pilgrimage of a few Pandits.²

Jahangir also continued the madad-i-massh grants, which had been issued earlier in favour of the Jangambari Math of Benaras. He is said to have granted to Arjun Mal Jangam of Baveli Benaras in 1601 248 Bighas of land in Benaras for the maintenance of the Jammatt of Jangams.³

There is copious evidence about Shahjahan that in this region he pursued liberal religious policy. Generally it is believed that Shahjahan had forbidden the construction of new temples, completion of those which had been started in the earlier period and reverted to the practice of destroying the religious shrines of the rebel chiefs and the enemies. But this is far from correct

1. Annual report of Indian Epigraphy. 60-61, No. B.602, B.603.

2. Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy, 59-60 No. 54.

3. See, Appendix.

so far as this is concerned. It was his son Dara who was allowed^{1.} to present a stone railing to the temple of Keshavnai at Mathura. Again it was Shahjahan himself who had written to Raja of Jaipur that he has been given complete liberty to appoint the presiding priests at the temple of Brindaban built by Raja Jai Singh. Again, Shahjahan gave the land grant to Vithal Dass in the Pargana of Jahar and Govardhan and in the mauza of Jaitpura alias Goplapur, so that cows' sheds^{2.} and temple for the adherents and could be built there. By another farman dated 28th October 1633 the mauzal of Gokul in the Mahaban pargana was granted as madad-i-mashh to Vithal Rai Goswami for³ the expenses of the Thakurdwara. In 1643, another firman was issued by Dara in favour of son of Vithal Rai. Similar farmans issued in favour of the sons of Vithal Rai Goswami are available and their⁴ text is given elsewhere.

Again, he confirmed the madad-i-mashh grants, granted by his predecessors in favour of the famous Jangambari Math of Benaras. (See Appendix).

The same liberal attitude he continued to maintain towards the Jains of this region. A Jain inscription in the temple of Parasvanath ji in the Kosiyan Mohalla of Agra dated 1631 speaks about⁵ the plantation of a garden and sinking of a well nearby the temple.

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1. S.K. Sharma, "The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors." P.121.
 2. See, Appendix.
 3. See, Appendix.
 4. See, Appendix.
 5. D.R. Bhandarkar, "List of Inscriptions of Northern India in Brahmi" (Appendices of Epigraphica Indica, Vol. xix) No. 960.

We have similar and ample evidences about Emperor 'Aurangzeb's attitude towards the Hindus of this region. It is a fact that some of the temples of Mathura were destroyed¹ and the feelings of the people of Mathura might have been hurt to a large extent, but it does not follow that he had become anti-Hindu. The circumstances in which the Hindu-Muslim soldiers laid their hands on the temples of Mathura are well known. They need no qualification. The temples of other places continued to stand and as visiting places of hundreds and thousands of the pilgrims from all over the country. Like his predecessors he confirmed the Madad-i-massh grants issued in favour of the Jangambari Math of Benaras. Other firmans or madad-i-massh documents are gradually coming to light, which amply bear out that so far as the region of Uttar Pradesh was concerned, the Mughal Emperors never displayed their fanaticism towards the Hindus of it. They were always liberal and seldom interfered with their religious beliefs.

1. Kaviraj Shyamal Dass, Vir Vinod, Vol. II p. 700-701.

EDUCATION

LEARNING AND LITERATURE.

CHAPTER. XIII

EDUCATION

LEARNING AND LITERATURE.

The Mughal period was the brightest period in the history of Indian education. The region under review was famous for education and learning in the ages gone by and it continued to be so in the period under review. In this region education learning and intellectual pursuits received remarkable impetus from the Mughal sovereigns, important nobles and religious institutions and people. Akbar and Aurangzeb introduced certain new principles in education to promote education and learning. True that there was no separate department of education, nor there was any systematic allocation of funds from the public exchequer for the education still then there were different agencies or institutions to impart education, foster literary atmosphere and create conducive atmosphere for the growth of education and learning. These institutions were mostly private, managed by individual teachers of repute and sometimes either aided by the state or by nobles or by people. Needless to say that education was purely a private concern and was seldom managed by the state directly, It was closely associated with

religion and was in the hands of private individuals and
¹
ulemas.

In the region and period under review there were four different agencies to impart education to the Muslims- Makhtab, Khangah, Mosque and Madarsas. Primary education to the boys and girls of the Muslim families was mostly given in the makhtabs. These makhtabs were generally attached with mosques and were very much similar to the present day elementary
²
schools, mostly run by local people. Generally speaking mosques were built sometimes with the help of some well to do persons of Muslim community of the locality and sometimes with the help of Madad-i-Maash or money granted by the Emperor or noble.
³
Thus the mosques performed twofold functions.

The Khangahs were also centres of learning and education. They were mostly established by Sufi saints or their followers at different places with the object of propagating
⁴
the ideologies of a particular order and to spread knowledge. In these Khangahs or private dwelling houses of the Sufi sants,

1. J.N.Sarkar, Studies in Mughal India, p.299; 'Ain(Trans) Vol.I, p.288-9; S.M.Jaffar, Education in Muslim Rule in India, p.80-103; N.N.Law, Promotion of Learning in India during the Mohammadan Rule, p.139-93; B.K.Sahay, Education and Learning under the Great Mughals, p.3.

2. B.K.Sahay, op.cit, p.6; P.N.Ojha, Society and Culture in Northern India, p.90.

3. B.K.Sahay, ' Education and learning under the Great Mughals, p.4.

4. J.N.Sarkar, Studies in Mughal India, p.300; B.K.Sahay, op.cit. p.5; P.N.Ojha, Society and Culture in Northern India, p.90-1;

seekers of knowledge used to throng to quench their thirst for knowledge by sitting at the feet of the Pir. In such centres of learning students who had crossed the age of adolescence were admitted and given education in all the different branches of learning, including religion and theology.¹ The number of such khangahs should have been quite large in this region.² There are two documents preserved in the Regional State Archives of U.P. Allahabad, which mentions about two Khangahs of the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. The first document is dated 14th December 1639 and it is a Parwana issued by Fida'i Khan to the officers of pargana Firuzabad, Sarkar Bahraich saying that the villages of Siyapur have been reappropriated and given to Shaikh Hamid Wahid-ul-Zamani for the maintenance of the Khangah and the officials were instructed to refrain from realising cesses like Mugarrari, Shahangi, Peshkash and Nehman etc. from the aforesaid Shaikh.³ There is another Parwana dated 7th October, 1683 issued by Khaiwandesh Khan to the officials of the pargana Firuzabad, Sarkar Bahraich Subah Oudh regarding confirmation of the grant of village Sipahipur together with its hamlet

1. B.K.Sahay, op.cit.p.6.

2. A.N.(Trans) Vol.II,p.531; B.K.Sahay,op.cit.p.22;

3. Calender of Oriental Records, Pub. by State Archives, Allahabad, Vol.I,p.88.

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hangrezpur to Sheikh Izzatullah for maintaining a Khanqah. On the basis of these two documents it can be said that the Imperial administration used to make Madad-i Maash grant in favour of the Khanqahs also.

Besides these institutions there were some scholars living in the different parts of this region, who enjoyed reputation as teachers and attracted pupils from all the parts of the country. These scholars had their own seats of learning.

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1. Calender of Oriental Records, published by State Archives, Allahabad, Vol. I, p. 88; For the parwanah issued in favour of the Khanqah of Mir Sayyid Ashraf Simnani popularly known as Ashraf Jahangir, by Muhtashim Khan, a noble of Aurangzeb in 49th Yr. granting Rs. 400/- for maintaining the Khanqah in the pargana Nasirabad, See Rafat Bilagrami, Some Mughal Revenue Grants to the family of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir, Medieval India Miscellany, Vol. II, p. 298;

2. For Example Miyan Hatim of Sambhal (Badaoni, (Trans) Vol. III p. 3; Shaikh Furhan of Kalpi (Ibid, p. 10), Shaikh Muhammad Kambu of Sambhal (Ibid, p. 12), Shaikh Nizamuddin of Ambethi (Ibid, p. 27), Shaikh Bhikan Kakori (Ibid, p. 410), Shaikh Tajuddin of Lucknow (Ibid, p. 43), Shaikh Muhammad Qalander of Lucknow (Ibid, p. 43), Shaikh Nizamuddin of Narnol (Ibid p. 44), Shaikh-ul-Hidaya of Khairabad (Ibid, p. 45), Shaikh Abu of Amroha (Ibid, p. 63), Shaikh Abdul Chafoor of Aampur, pargana Sarkar Sambhal (Ibid, p. 69), Miyan Shaikh Abdullah of Badaon (Ibid, p. 90), Shaikh Jalaluddin of Kannauj (Ibid, p. 93), Shaikh Allah Bakhsh of Carhmukteshwar (Ibid, p. 96), Mir Alauddin of Oudh (Ibid, p. 101), Shaikh Hamza of Lucknow (Ibid, p. 103), Shaikh Pirak of Lucknow (Ibid, p. 104), Shaikh Mahmud Husain of Sikandara (Ibid, p. 105), Shaikh Abdul Wahid Bilgrami (Ibid, p. 106), Shaikh Ahmad Fayyaz of Ambethi (Ibid, p. 132), Miyan Illahdad of Lucknow (Ibid, p. 134-5), Shaikh Qayum Ladh of Sohana (Ibid, p. 163), Shaikh Abdul Chani of Badaon (Ibid, p. 164-5), Qazi Mubarak of Gopamau (Ibid, p. 188), Shaikh Jalal-i-Wasil of Kalpi (Ibid, p. 196), Sadr Jahan of Pihani district Kannauj (Ibid, p. 198), Mirza Mufti Uzbek of Agra (Badaoni) Vol. III, p. 218, Shaikh Shah Muhammad Jaunpur (B.K. Sahay, op.cit, p. 36), Shaikh Shah Mohammad Yasin, Shaikh Murtaja, Shaikh Afzal Jaunpuri, and Shaikh Mahmud of Jaunpur (B.K. Sahay, op.cit, p. 37)

They had no permanent source of income except the occasional grants which they received from the Mughal sovereigns of the money they received from the nobles or from other well to do sections of Muslim society.

Higher education was imparted in Madarsahs. They were v ry much like the modern colleges and were mostly attached to mosques and sometimes with the tombs of the emperors and nobles and darveshes, which were used as residential accommodation by the pupils or students.¹

The education of a muslim child begins at the age of four years four months and four days. Like today he was taken to a nearest makhtab, placed under a Mullah who used to perform his makhtab ceremony or Dismillah alkhani. Sometimes the sons of the nobles and others were placed in charge of the private tutors or Ustads for imparting elementary education to them. After having completed the elementary education, the child, if his family was interested in his higher education was sent either to a Madarsa or to a Khangah for receiving higher education.²
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1. Yusuf Husain, Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture, p.69; B.K.Sahay, Education and Learning under the Great Mughals, p.6; P.N.Ojha, Society and Culture in Northern India, p.90-1; Elliot & Dowson, Vol.VI, p.176.

2. S.M.Jaffar, 'Education in Muslim India, p.151-152; K.M. Ashraf, Life and Condition of People of Hindustan, p.178; Manucci, Vol.II, p.346-7; B.K.Sahay, op.cit, p.7; P.N.Ojha, op.cit. p.34-5:

3. B.K. Sahay, op.cit, p.12-13; P.N.Ojha, op.cit. p.92-3

In this region education received great impetus from the sovereigns, nobles and the private people. Almost all the Mughal sovereigns who exercised their sway over this vast region were themselves learned and were interested in promotion of education and learning. It is related that Babar, who did not find colleges in Hindustan entrusted the responsibility to the public works department to construct schools and colleges. It is very doubtful whether they could be constructed during Babar's life time. It appears that his order might have remained on paper. However, we can infer from his order that Babar was interested in establishing schools and colleges.¹ His illustrious son Humayun, though was highly cultured and a learned man.² He was a great patron of scholars, unfortunately, could not find time to promote education in this region by establishing schools and colleges. Akbar took a keen interest in education and is said to have issued certain regulation with regard to curriculum etc.³ During his reign a large number of educational institutions were built for imparting instructions to the students. A very big madarsa was established by Akbar in Fatehpur Sikri, about which AbulFazl

1. N.N.Law, Promotion and Learning in India under the Mohammadan Rule, p.124, 126-27; S.M.Jaffar, Education in Muslim India, p.151-152.

2. Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p.611; Khwandmir, Qanun-i-Humayuni, p.42; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. V, p.119-21; B.K.Sahay, op.cit. p.20; N.N.Law, op.cit, p.127; S.M. Jaffar, op.cit. p.78.

3. Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p.288-9; N.N.Law, op.cit. p.160; 161; S.M.Jaffar, op.cit, p.81; B.K.Sahay, op.cit. p.21;

says that only " few travellers can name"¹. Besides this several madarsas in this city were built at the instance of Akbar.² Lala Sil Chand in his "Tafrihul Imarat" mentions that Akbar established large number of madarsas and khanqahs in Fatehpur Sikri and in Agra also there were several such Madarasas where, scholars from Shiraz used to teach.³ Emperor Jahangir too made arrangements for the construction of Mosques, madarasas and Khanqahs and for the repair of the old ones.⁴ We learn from the contemporary sources and the accounts of the foreign travellers that his successors, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb were too great patrons of scholars and learned. They built large number of educational institutions(madarsas)

1. Mr. Monserrate, Commentaries, p.51-52; N.N. Law, op.cit, p.162; S.M. Jaffar, op.cit, p.82; B.K. Sahay, op.cit, p.22;

2. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh(Trans) J.N. Sarkar) p.24; B.K. Sahay, op.cit. p.22;

3. Ain(Trans) Vol.II, p.531; Monserrate, p.51-52; N.N. Law, op.cit, p.162-3; 144-45; S.M. Jaffar, op.cit. p.86-88.

4. Tazuk-i-Jahangiri (R & B). Vol.I, p.10; N.N. Law, op.cit, p.175; S.M. Jaffar, op.cit, 93; L.K. Sahay, op.cit. p.22.

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in the region under review. They also satisfied themselves
by constructing a large number of mosques which also served
the purpose of imparting education and promoting learning. 2

So far as the establishment of the educational
institutions in the region under review is concerned, the
Ulema and the nobles stole a march over their patrons and
benefactors, the Mughal emperors. During the reign of Humayun,
Shaikh Zainuddin Ikhwafi, "an author, poet of pure vigorous
diction and towering imagination who was unapproached in his
age in the composition of chronograms and versifications and
in prose and poetry.", established a madarsa in Chunar. He died
in 1534 and was buried within the campus of the college. Later
a school was established at Agra to perpetuate his memory. 3 4

1. The renowned traveller Bernier who visited India about
this time, draws a sad picture of the state of education. He
says that, "A gross and profound ignorance reigns in those
states. For how is it possible there should be academies and
colleges well founded? Where are such founders to be met with?
And if there were any, which were the scholars to be had?
Where are those that have means sufficient to maintain their
children in colleges? And if there were, who would appear to be
so rich?" There is a little amount of exaggeration in his
observation. See, Bernier, p. 229; N.N. Law, op.cit, p. 181; B.K. Sahay,
op.cit, p. 23. It may be mentioned that Shahjahan allowed the
existing educational institutions to survive. He also built an
Imperial College in Delhi in the vicinity of famous Jami Masjid.
He repaired the college named Dar-ul-Baqaa, (See N.N. Law, op.cit,
p. 181-82). Like his father Shahjahan, Aurangzeb also established
many colleges and schools in this region. He confiscated the
buildings belonging to the Dutch in Lucknow and made over the
famous Firangi Mahal to a Muslim to be utilised as Madarsah.
(See, N.N. Law, op.cit. p. 183).

2. N.N. Law, op.cit p. 187; B.K. Sahay, op.cit. p. 25.

3. Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 538; N.N. Law, op.cit. p. 124.

4. Badaoni (Trans) Vol. II, p. 610, 611; N.N. Law, op.cit. p. 134;

During the reign of Akbar, Baham Anaga established a madarsa with a mosque at Delhi.¹ Bryazid Biyat, the author Tazkira Humayun wa Akbar established a madarsa at Benaras.² Munim Khan another, notable figure of Akbar's reign allocated some apartments near the Jaunpur bridge to a few Sheikhhs and learned men so that they could impart education to the children. The inner apartments were let out and the rent received from them defrayed the expenses of the teachers and the taught.³ Of the educational institutions, one was founded by Akbar at Agra known as Akber's Madarsa,⁴ then there were Madarsa-i-Ihas of Maulana Alauddin Lari,⁵ the madarsa of 'afiuddin Safatthu⁶ the madarsa of Mir Kalan Haravi⁷ and the Madarsa of Shaikh Zainuddin Khwafi.⁸ Besides, the residence of Sayyid Shah Mir Samana in Agra had also become a madarsa.⁹ The Jami Masjid of Khwaja Muinuddin Farrukhabadi in Agra was another important

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1. N.N.Law, op.cit. p.165-66
 2. Ba azid Biyat (Hindi Trans) p.269,270.
 3. N.N.Law, op.cit. p.102; S.M.Jaffar, op.cit. p.128.
 4. B.K.Sahay, op.cit, p.27.
 5. Badaoni (Trans). Vol.II, p.53.
 6. Badaoni (Trans) Vol.III, p.181;
 7. Ni'amuddin Ahmad, Taqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol.II, p.694-5;
 8. Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.609-11.
 9. Badaoni (Trans) Vol.III, p.174-75.

¹
madarsa of this period.

Now coming to the system of education among the Hindus, we find that it was not very much different from the Muslims in the region and in the period under review. There were different agencies of imparting education-the tols, Pathshalas, elementary schools, temples, Maths, ² Jain Upasanas and private tutors. The education of a Hindu child in those days generally ³ used to begin at the age of five years. After his upnayan ⁴ Sanskar he was told how to write an alphabet and then he was either sent to a neighbouring primary school or was placed under a private tutor. After the child had finished his primary education he was sent to Pathashala and then to the tols for ⁵ higher education. The contemporary chronicles and the account

1. Badaoni (Trans) V 1. III, p. 218; A.N. (Trans) Vol. II, p. 531; E.A. Sahay op.cit. p. 27-8.

2. A.N. Srivastava, Albair the Great, Vol. III, p. 163-70; P.N. Ojha, op.cit., p. 94; E.A. Sahay, op.cit., p. 49. Lanarsai 'ass mentions about Chatsal (चतसल) in the following verse:
 See, Ardha Katha, verse no. 46, page. 478.

3. B.K. Sahay, op.cit. p. 50; P.N. Chopra, Society and Culture in Mughal Age, Agra 1955, p. 129.

4. Jahangir referring about it mentions, "after he (Brahman boy) has arrived at the age of eight years, they have a meeting and collect Brahmans together. They made a cord of munj grass, which they call Munji in length 2½ gaz and having caused prayers and indications to be repeated over it and having had it made into three stands which they call shtan by one, in whom they have confidence, they fasten it on the waist. Having woven a Zunnar (thread) out of loose threads, they hang it over his right shoulder. Having given into his hand a stick of length of a little over one gaz to defend himself with from hurtful things and a copper vessel for drinking water, they hand him over to a learned Brahman, that he may remain in his house for 12 years and employ himself reading Vedas, which they believe in as God's book. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (A. & B) Vol. I, p. 357; Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 288-9.
 E.A. Sahay, op.cit. p. 51-52, 55.

of the foreign travellers have only mentioned about the centres of learning. And it can be inferred from their accounts that such educational institutions must have flourished both in the urban and rural areas. And these educational institutions mainly depended upon the meagre support which they either received from the Hindu chiefs or from the people of a particular area. There are numerous references about the madad-imaash grants being given by the Mughal emperors to the Hindu temple, but there is hardly any reference about the grant-in-aid being made in favour of any educational institution of the Hindus in this region in this long period extending from 1526-1707.A.D.

Again, though it has been mentioned by a few historians that the Mughal emperors gave encouragement to Hindu education, but there is hardly any decisive evidence to confirm this view. Generous and tolerant they were no doubt, but they took no steps to establish schools for the Hindus. However, education continued to remain the private affair and concern of the Hindu scholars and theologians. The state did not interfere with it at any time in the region under review.

As regards the centres of Hindu-Muslim learning they were numerous in the region under review. Amongst the famous centres of higher Hindu learning was Kashi-Benaras. According to Abul Fazl, "from the time immemorial it has been the chief seat of learning. Crowds of people flock to it from

the most distant parts for the purpose of instruction to which they apply themselves with most evoted assudity.¹ Echoing the same view the author of Khulasat-ut-tawarikh, Sujan Rai Bhandari also mentions that Benaras " is a treasury of learning, an assembly hall of the learned men and the school of those that desire the lore of the Hindus."² While according to the French traveller Bernier, the town of Benaras was the " Athens of India".³ Students from all the parts of this country used to come here to receive education under the Hindu Pandits. In 1655 Raja Jai Singh of Amber established here a college for giving education to the young men of respectable Hindu families.⁴

As regards the Muslim centres of learning, their number was by far larger due to the fact that education received encouragement from the sovereigns as well as the nobles, besides the others. Secondly, in the urban economy the respectable place was occupied by those who were educated. The same holds true with regard to urban society. Whereas education was a must for every Muslim child, it was not considered so for a Hindu child. Again, while the Khanqahs of the Sufi saints

1. 'Ain(Trans)Vol.II,p.158; B.A.Sahay,op.cit,p.68-69.

2. J.N.Sarkar,' India of Aurangzeb',(1901),p.28;B.A.Sahay, op.cit.p.69.

3. Bernier, p.334.

4. Tavernier,Vol.II,p.234-35;cf.B.A.Sahay,op.cit.p.69.

became centres of religion and learning the house of a Vaishnav saint could not become so. The most important centres of Muslim learning in this region were ¹ ,Agra, Allahabad, ² ³ Cannauf, Badaon, Sambhal, ² ³ Cambhal, Jaunpur, Lucknow, ³ Chazipur, Bahraich, Amroha, Kol etc.

The period and the region under review also saw the growth and development of the various regional dialects. A number of Hindu-muslim saints lived and thrived here in this region and made decisive literary contribution. At the

L A N G U A G E S

OF

T H E

R E G I O N

CHRSIT ITY: MAX/BE/P outset it may

be pointed

out that ever

since the

beginning of

the eleventh century a rapid transformation started in the languages spoken in this region. This was primarily due to the influx of the Muslims and impact of the foreign languages like Arabic, Persian and Turkish upon the various indigenous

1. During the period under review Agra was one of the most important centres of learning. In this city numerous scholars and teachers from distant countries came and settled down and they promoted learning and education. Lal-Sil Chand says that Akbar brought some learned professors from Shiraz, the famous centre of Muslim learning and appointed some of them as teachers. B.K.Sahay, op.cit, p.27; Jahan, in also corroborates this point. He mentions in his Memoirs that the inhabitants of Agra exert themselves greatly in acquirement of crafts and learning. Various professors of every religion and creed have taken up their abode in the city." See, Tuzuk (R& B) Vol. I, p.7.

2. B.K.Sahay, op.cit. p.35-6.

3. Ibid, p.37.

languages spoken in different parts of the region under review. The Sanskrit was replaced by Apabhramsha and the latter was enriched by the words from the mentioned languages. No wonder all the major dialects of this region became rich in their vocabulary, having large number of Persian and Arabic words. Among these dialects the most important were Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Braj Bhasha and Baghelkhandi, which were spoken in the different regions of this vast region of Uttar Pradesh. We are not here concerned with the origin, growth and development of these various regional dialects from thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century ^{AD} ~~vis~~ ^{vis} vis the literary traditions before the establishment of the Mughal rule in this region. Suffice it to say that by that time the Mughals established their hold over this region these various regional dialects had crossed the adolescent period of their growth and development. By now they had become quite mature. The only thing which they needed was peaceful atmosphere, freedom and patronage and encouragement. And undeniably the illustrious successors of Babar and Humayun created such an atmosphere for literary upsurge.

It has earlier been related that the vast and extensive region covered by present Uttar Pradesh was then, like to-day, inhabited by the multi-religious, racial and lingual population. The region was the meeting ground of all the races and cultures. In the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh Bhojpuri was the language of the people. It was widely spoken in Benaras, Chunar and Ghazipur and other places of the eastern region.

Benaras was the traditional centre of the Brajputi poets, who contributed much in the field of folk songs. In the Du'l, Awadhi was widely spoken. At the use of this language did not remain confined to such alone in the Du'l period. His language was also spoken in the Sarkars of Muzaffarnagar, Aligarh, Jounpur, Ghazipur and Kara Manikpur etc. It was a popular language with a chequered history of its origin and development. Much before Tulsidas, it had received an honourable place at the hands of Malik Muhammad Jaisi, who wrote in it his famous and outstanding, philosophical romantic and allegorical and linguistically far excellent "Padmavat", a work of considerable interest and a beautiful piece of Awadhi literature. No doubt that Jaisi was a Muslim Muhammadan but his diction was purer and his choice of Urdu words has been considered much superior to any other poet before and after him in this region. In south eastern and western region of Uttar Pradesh, the Bagheli and Bundelkhandi dialects were spoken by the people. The rulers of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand were great patrons of men of letters and poets. No wonder much was written at their instance. And the literary contributions enriched the Bundelkhandi and Baghelkhandi literature.

In the region round Agra and Mathura and elsewhere too the Brajbhasha was the language of the people. In fact it was the spoken language of the entire region known as as Braj in those days. In the Rohilkhand region both Awadhi and Braj Bhasha were widely spoken. In the Kumaon and the Tarai regions

of Uttar Pradesh, the Garhwali and other local dialects were spoken. In short in matter of language the region under review was quite rich.

Besides, these different languages of the region another language which was most important and which was the official language was Persian which was used widely in this region. Apart from these there were other languages which were also spoken in this region.

This region was always the torch bearer so far as the learning and literary pursuits were concerned. This was region which was inhabited by the Rishis and tapaswais, learned and pious. A host of religious thinkers and scholars adorned this region in this period and showed light to those who wandered in darkness and those who craved for spiritual and mental solace. Both the ancient and the early Medieval period,

L I T E R A T U R E saw tremendous literary activity in
H I N D I this region. To the famous centres of learning in the earlier period a few more were added in the Mughal period and there was outburst of great literary activity throughout the length and breadth of the region under review. The tremendous literary output of different regional dialects in form of contemporary religious and secular literature was influenced by the religious and political trends of the period. To assess the literary contribution, made by the poets and scholars of this region vis-a-vis the literary activities, it is essential to divide the available literature into categories-

religious and secular. The former consisted of the contribution of the devotees an Krishnite school, Jain Sahitya and Pranami Sahitya. To the second category belonged the secular literature consisting of long romantic poems Premalhyanak Kavvas, allegorical poems, tales in poetry, varna Sahitya, Kathas and poems to enlogise the valour and attainments of the Hindu chiefs. Here two points are worth noticing, firstly that the poets and prose writers of this period have freely borrowed words from the foreign languages such as Arabic and Persian and secondly to the best of their ability and efforts they tried to follow rigidly the rules of allegory, grammar and meters.

Before giving an account of the Hindu poets and scholars of this region in the period under review, it may be mentioned that three factors contributed to growth of vernacular literatures-the Bhakti movement of the earlier period, the capital of the Mughals situated in Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Delhi, which attracted host of Hindu poets and thirdly the keen interest of the Mughal sovereigns in extending patronage to poets and writers. Since much has been written about the Bhakti movement and the literary contribution of the saints during the fourteenth and fifteenth century, it is hardly necessary here to mention about it again. The three imperial capitals were situated in Hindi speaking areas, hence it was quite natural for the dialect which was spoken in this area to grow and to become rich. As regards the third point, it may be

MUGHAL SOVEREIGNS

AS

GREAT PATRONS

OF HINDU POETS.

mentioned that a cursory glance at the portion dealing with Hindustan period of Baber's life in his Memoirs gives the impression that the founder of the Mughal

empire, during his short and eventful reign, tried to familiarise himself with different dialects spoken in different parts of this region. He had picked up large number of Hindi words. His successor Humayun, according to Dr. S.K. Banerji knew Hindi very well and if we accept the statement of Dr. Sarju Prasad Aggrawal it appears that he extended patronage to the famous Hindu poet Narhari, who was then at the Mughal court. With the accession of Akbar a new epoch began in the growth and development of Hindi literature. Prof. Nizami has rightly pointed out that, "Recent researches have robbed the time honoured myth of Akbar's illiteracy of all its charm and it now well-known that he could compose fine verses in Persian and Hindi and was an excellent critic of poetry." Prof. Nizami

1. Dr. Sarju Prasad Aggrawal, Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi, "(Lucknow S. 2007) p.54-76.

2. Prof. K.A. Nizami, Persian literature Under Akbar, Medieval India Quarterly, Aligarh, April 1958, p. 304.

~~For Example~~

~~See, Dr. Sarju Prasad Aggrawal, Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi, Lucknow, 2007, p. 54-76.~~

has quoted Abul Fazl who mentions that, "He (Akbar) has a strong glorious thought in Hindi language which may be regarded as masterpiece in this kind." Dr. Sarju Prasad Aggrawal has also quoted some of his verses in his work. But according to Dr. Beni Prasad, the evidence on this point as inconclusive. However, he has selected some of the Hindu poets of this region whom Akbar extended patronage at the court. Among them the most notable were Firbal of Mau Rai, a bard of Asni, and Ganga Prasad of Etawah, The traditions of Akbar's court to patronise the Hindu poets from the region under review was continued by Jahangir. Keshav Dass one of the greatest Hindu poet of his times was a favourite of Jahangir. The magnificent Shahjahan also very much loved the compositions of the Hindu poets. He extended patronage of Kavindracharya, Sheromani Harnath, Vedanga Rai and Banwari. All of these poets belonged to this

1. For Example :

- (i) जाको अस है जगत में जगत सराहै जाहि,
ताको जीवन सफल है कहत अकबर साहि ॥
- (ii) राह अकबर बाल की वाह जचित गही बलि भीतर मोने,
सुन्दर द्वार ही दृष्टि लगाय के मागिबे को भ्रम पावत गौने ॥

See, Dr. Sarju Prasad Aggrawal, Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi (Lucknow)p. 30-31.

2. Dr. Beni Prasad, A Few Aspects of Education and Literature Under the Great Mughals, Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Jan. 1923, p. 46-55.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Hari Nath was the son of Akbar's court poet Narhari Mahapatra. On 29th Jan 1640 he received the reward from Shahjahan, one horse, one elephant, one lakh dams. According to a literary tradition, while Hari Nath was returning from the court with these gifts a Brahman beggar recited an extempore couplet in his praise and asked for reward. The poet gave him one lakh dams. See, K.R. Qanungo, Historical Essays, p. 183.

region. The noble traditions of his ancestors were maintained by Aurangzeb. It is true that he did not find time to appreciate the art of poetry, yet some of the outstanding Hindu poets who belonged to this region were patronised by him. The most important and eminent amongst them were Sukhdev Mishra, Lalidas Trivedi and Indrajit Tripathi. Thus, the foregoing account makes it clear that there were a large number of Hindu poets from this region who adorned the Mughal court and created interest for Hindi poetry among the grand Mughal sovereigns.

It is difficult to draw a hard line of distinction between the devotees and poets of Ramaite and Krishnaite cults or ~~xxx~~ of Saguna or Nirgun Bhakti, since there were devotees and poets who worshipped Rama yet wrote verses on Krishna and vice versa. Faith in God and his devotion to him alone inspired him to sing in His praise and express the inner most feelings of his heart in his own language. Among the devotees of Rama who were also born poets and who enriched the Ramaite literature and who belonged to the region under review mention can be made of the following :

1. MALUK DASS : He was born in 1574 in Kara, Allahabad. He was a son of Khatri named Sunder Dass. It is said that the blankets which his father used to give him for selling them. Maluk Dass used to distribute them among the poor and needy. He was famous for his devotion and love to God. There are large number of stories associated with his name. Some of these given an exaggerated account of his spritual powers. He had 12

disciples. He established his own Panth at Kara, Jaipur, Gujarat, Patna and other places. Among his works two are well known-Gyanbodh and Lamavtar Lila. In both of these works he has used Arabic and Persian words. It is said that he spent greater part of his in Kalpi also.¹

2- SUTIPA DASS: He was a kayastha by caste and was a resident of Allahabad. He was born in 1574 and he died in 1682. He was a disciple of Baba Maluk Dass, and naturally he propagated the principles enunciated by his teacher. He wrote on the life of Baba Maluk Dass and the work is known as Maluk Parichaya
(मलूक परिचय)²).

3- YARI SAHIB: He was a well known saint who was very popular in Delhi, Ghazipur and other places of this region. He was the disciple of Biru Sahib and a Muslim. He was a worshipper of Nirgun Brahma and it is related that he spent greater part of his life in Delhi.³

4- BULLA SAHIB: He was a disciple of Yari Sahib. His original name was Bulaki Ram and he was a Kunbi by caste. Originally he was a servant of Gulal Sahib but the latter being

1. Parashuram Chaturvedi, "Uttar Bharat Ki Sant Parampara," p. 505.

2. Parashuram Chaturvedi, "Uttar Bharat Ki Sant Parampara," p. 505-506.

3. Parashuram Chaturvedi, "Uttar Bharat Ki Sant Parampara," p. 478.

impressed by his devotion to God made him his disciple. Later on he became the disciple of Yari Sahib. It is said that Bulla Sahib was a resident of Ghazipur and he used Purbi dialect in composing his verses. There was the influence of Rathyoga on him. He chiefly derived inspiration from the ¹ saints of the earlier period.

5- GULAL SAHIB: Not much is known about him. He was a ² Zamindar of Ghazipur and belonged to a Khstriya family.

6- BHIKA SAHIB: He was a disciple of Culal Sahib and was a Brahmin by caste. He was born in Khanpur, Sohna in the Azamgarh district. His original name was Bhikanand. Among ~~in~~ his famous works are राम राग, राम कविच, राम कुण्डलिया³. His disciples were mostly found in Ballia district of Uttar Pradesh.

7. JAGIVAN DASS: He was born in Samvat 1739 in Saradah in the Barabanki district. He was a Chandel Thakur and spent the greater part of his life in Kotwa. He was much influenced by the teachings of Kabir and it is said that he drew his disciples from the different castes and classes of Hindu-Muslim society. He was a prolific writer and author of

1. Parashuram Chaturvedi, "Uttar Bharat Ki Sant Parampara," p.482.

2. Parashuram Chaturvedi, "Uttar Bharat Ki Sant Parampara," 483.

3. Parashuram Chaturvedi, "Uttar Bharat Ki Sant Parampara," p. 484-86.

Gyan Prakash (ज्ञान प्रकाश) Mahapralaya (महाप्रलय) and Pretham Granth (प्रथम ग्रन्थ)¹.

8- DHARAM DASS : He was the first to make contribution in Oudhi poetry. He collected and compiled the sermons and poems of Kabir in 1570.²

9. TULSI DASS: (1532-1633) Goswami Tulsidas flourished during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir and was the most influential poet and the greatest and the most famous poet of Hindi. He was born in 1532 at Rajapur and was devotee of Ramaite cult and his Ram Charit Manas is regarded as the "Bible among the rustic population of Britain." He mostly wrote in Oudhi dialect. His experiences are chaste and literary. Here it is not possible to throw light on the literary merits of his works. Among his well known works are- Ram Charit Manas, Parwati Mangal, Janki Mangal, Vinay Patrika, Dohawali, Geetawali, Gyan Dipika etc. He is the most outstanding and valuable contribution to the Oudhi and Brajbhasha literature. His compositions are Sawaya, (सवैया), Chappaya, (छप्पय) Doha (दोहा) and Chaupai (चौपाई) and he is said to have been in correspondence with the Mughal noble Abdur Rahim Khan ³ Khanan.

1. Parashuram Chaturvedi, "Uttar Bharat Ki Sant Parampara," p. 442-447.

Nor did the devotees of Krishna lag behind in making contribution to Braj language and literature. The devotees of Krishnaite cult raised the Braj Bhasha to the status of literary language.

Among the important poets of Krishnaite school were :

1. NARHARI : (1505-1610) He was born at Pakhrauli in the Dalmau tahsil of district Rae Bareilly. He spent his childhood in Rae Bareilly but subsequently settle^d down at Asni. By caste he was a Brahmin of the Kashyp Gotra. Nothing is more known about his early life and education. However, in his late life he came into contact with some of the renowned personalities of the region and is said to have been honoured by Baber and was later on patronised by Humayun, Sher Shah, Salim Shah, Raja Ram Chandra son of Vir Phanu, the ruler of Kewa, Raja Mukund Gajpati, the ruler of Orissa and Akbar. Emperor Akbar honoured Narhari with the title of Mahapatra. The latter was author of several well known works, which he wrote in appreciation of his patrons and benefactors. In some of his compositions he ~~has~~ has referred to certain practices observed at the court of Hindu ruler of Orissa viz. the weighing ceremony. He has also mentioned about the conquest of the fort of Chittor by Akbar the great Mughal. He was a devotee of Lord Krishna and a staunch
Vaishnavite and therefore his compositions were mainly religious. ¹

1. Dr. Sarju Prasad Aggrawal, "Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi". (Lucknow S.1700), p. 54-76;

2- SWAMI HARIDAS: (1485-1575) of Brindaban. He was a Brahman by caste and member of the order of Nimbarak. and was past master of art of music. He was the preceptor of great musician Tansen and also of probably Nayak Baiju. It is related that Akbar once went in disguise to Brindaban to listen to the songs of Swami Haridas. A large number of songs of Swami Haridas have been quoted by Pandit Krishnanand ~~Nax~~ Vyasdeva in his Sangita Rag Lalnadruma. Swami Haridas was also the founder of sepearte Panth. Among his well known compositions are, Swami Haridass ke Pad, Hari Dass Ji Ka Granth, Swami Hari Dass Ji Ki Bani. According to Rai Bahadur¹ Mira Lal he wrote a commentary entitled, Prasatwa Ratnakara. It is also related that Swami Hari Dass was patronised by Raja Indra Singh Bundela a contemporary of Akbar.

Among the other saints poets of the Krishnaite cult were Surdas and his seven colleagues known collectively as Ashtachap. They were the disciples of Swami Vallabhacharya (1478-1530) and his son Vithalnath. Vallabhacharya was the founder of the Vellabha order and he wrote a few Krishna Pad

1. Dr. G.A. Haleem, "Development of Hindi literature during Akbar's Reign." Medieval India Quarterly (Aligarh) Jan-April 1958, p. 28-29; Din Dayal Gupta, "Ashtchhap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya," (Allahabad, S. 2004) Vol.I, p.68-69.

¹
in Braj Bhasha. Of the Ashtachap, the most notable musician-poets were, Surdas, Krishna Dass, Parmanand Dass, Kumbhan Dass, Chaturbhuj Dass, Chhit Swami, Govind Swami and Nand Dass.

²
3- SUR DASS: Among the Ashtachap poets Sur Dass was the greatest and famous poet. He wrote in Braj Bhasha. He was a prolific writer. Among his famous works are, Sur Sagar, Sur Sarwali, Sahitya Lahiri etc. He was a fine musician also.

³
4* KRISHNA DASS: He was a shudra by caste and the author of Yugalnan Charitra (युगलन चरित्र), Prem Satr Nirup (प्रेमसत्र निरूप) etc. The latter work is a commentary on the Bhakta Mal Tika (भक्तमाल टीका). His songs are there on Rag Sagar and Sangita Rag Kalpadruma, written by Pandit Krishna and Vyasji.

⁴
5. PARMANAND DASS: He was born in Kannauj in the Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh. He was a Kanyakubja Brahmin. He was a great poet and among his famous works are, Parmanand Dass Sagar, Parmanand Ke Pad, Dohawali, Danlela (दान लीला) Dharuvcharitra (ध्रुव चरित्र) etc. One of his sonnets have been quoted in Granth Sahib, the holybook of the

1. Din Dayal Gupta, "Ashtchhap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya, (Allahabad S 2004) Vol. I, p. 70-71 Dr. S.A. Haleem, "Development of Hindi literature during Akbar's reign", Medieval India Quarterly (Aligarh) Jan-April, 1958, p. 89.

2. For details see, Chaurasi Vaishno Ki Varta (चौरासी वैष्णव की वार्ता) - p. 272; 273-290; Dr. Dharendra Varma, "Hindi Sahitya" (Allahabad) Vol. II, p. ; Din Dayal Gupta, "Asht Chhap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya", p. 198-218; Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 611-12; Dr. S.A. Haleem, op.cit, p. 89.

3. For his life, See, Din Dayal Gupta, Asht Chhap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya, "p. 245-255; 315; Chaurasi Vaishno Ki Varta, 322-341;

Sikhs. Some of his songs are given in Sangita Raga Kalpadruma.

6- ¹KUMBLAN DASS: was a Codia Erahmin. At Akbar's request he came most reluctantly to his court at Fathpur Sikri. While coming to the imperial court he refused to ride on Palki sent for him, and covered the whole distance from Mathura to Fathpur Sikri. On his arrival at the imperial court he expressed his disgust in these words :

भक्तन को कहा सीकरी सौ काम,
जावत जात पन्हैया टूटी विसरि गयो हुरि नाम
जाको मुख देखे दुख लागे ताको करनू परी परनाम
कुम्भनदास लाल गिरधर बिन यह सब फूँटी धाम ॥ २

we do not find any independent work of Kumbhan Dass. Amongst his famous collections, are Vallabhi Sampradaya, Kirtan Sangraha, ³Rag Sagrobhar, Rag Ratnakar etc.

7- NAND DASS : He flourished in the later part of the sixteenth century. He is said to be the brother of Goswami Tulsidass and he occupies a place next to Sur Dass among the Ashtchap poets. He was a Brahmin of Rampur. Among his literary

4. Chaurasi Vishnno Ki Varta, p. 290-316; Din Dayal Gupta, op.cit.p. 219-230; 299-310;

1. Chaurasi Vaishnno Ki Varta, p. 316, 322-38, Din Dayal Gupta, "Ashta Chhap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya," p. 231-244.

2. Din Dayal Gupta, Asht Chhap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya," p. 236; also see, Chaurasi Vaishnno Ki Varta, p. 321.

3. Din Dayal Gupta, "Asht Chhap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya," p. 311-312.

works the most famous are, Ras Panch Adhya (रास पंचाध्यायी)
Rup Manjari (रूप मंजरी), Ras Manjari (रास मंजरी), Dasskhand¹
Bhagwat (दस स्कन्द भागवत), Danlela (दानलीला) and others.

8- CHATURBHUJ DASS: He was the son of Pitambar Dass. He was
a devotee of Lord Krishna. He was the author of Duadash Yash
१ द्वादश यश) Bhakti Pratap (भक्ति प्रताप)² and Madhu Malti
(मधु मालती) and other works.

9- CHHIT SWAMI: He was a disciple of Vithal Dass, the head of
the Vallabha Sampradaya. He was the preceptor of Raja Birbal and
wrote isolated verses. Only thirty four of his verses (पदों)
³
are available.

10- GOVIND SWAMI: He was a Sandhya Brahmin. He became the
disciple of Swami Vithal Dass. He was the author of Ekantpada,
a book of devoted songs of Lord Krishna. A few of his compositions
⁴
are given in Book III of Sangit Rag Lalpadrum.

11- KEWAL RAM: Another famous poet of Braj was Kewal Ram
(1575 A.D.) His name is mentioned in Bhaktamala and it is said
that he was disciple of Krishna Dass.

1. Din Dayal Gupta, "Asht Chhap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya,"
p. 255-272;

2. Din Dayal Gupta, "Asht Chhap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya,"
p. 262-266;

3. Din Dayal Gupta, "Asht Chhap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya,"
272-278, 389.

4. Din Dayal Gupta, "Asht Chhap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya,"
p. 266-272, 385;

12- KUNWAR DASS : He was the son of Bithal Dass Chaube of Mathura, Nothing more is mentioned about him except that he flourished in 1600 A.D.

13. BHAGWANT RAMIT: of Brindaban in Braj (1560) He was a disciple of Swami Vithal Dass and lived in Brindaban. and was famous poet.

14. ABHAY RAM: of Brindaban flourished in 1545 and was a well known poet of his times.

15- NIPAT NIRANJAN: He flourished during the middle of the sixteenth century and was a good poet. It is said that Akbar¹ visited him.

16- NAROTTAM DASS : He was the author of Sudama Charitra, a work of only thirty four pages, dealing with the meeting of Lord Krishna and Sudama. He was born on 1528 in a village in Sitapur District of Oudh.²

17- HARIPRIYA³ : He was a member of Vallabhi order. He is said to have composed large number of verses in Braj Phasha.

18- VYASJI: belonged to the Radha Vallabha order and flourished during the later half of the sixteenth century.

1. Dr.S.A.Haleem,"Development of Hindi literature during Akbar's Reign,"Medieval India Quarterly,Jan-April,1958,p.91.

2. Dr.S.A.Haleem,"Development of Hindi Literature during Akbar's Reign," Medieval India Quarterly, Jan-April,1958,p.91; Dr.L.S. Varshneya, Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas,"p. 190

3. Ram Chandra Shukla, Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas,p. 182.

He chiefly resided at Brindaban.¹

19- PHANAI DASS: He was a disciple of Hit Harvansha Swami and was the author of Sabda Mandalī (शब्द मंडली). He was a great² poet and flourished in the later part of the seventeenth century.

20. KRISHNA CHANDRA JI: He was son of Hit Harivansh Swami (1567). He was evidently a Vaishnav of Radha-Vallabhī order. he wrote Radha Vallabh Sampredaya Siddhant and Pitambar Dass³ Kī Bani.

Besides these poets of the Arishnaite cult of Bhakti, there were numerous other poets, belonging to this region. These poets first and devotees of Ram and Krishna afterwards. Among these poets mention can be made of the following :

1. RAJA TODAR MAL: Besides being a great administrator he was a great poet. He was a devotee of Lord Krishna. A few of his verses have been quoted by Sarju Prasad Aggrawal and Hari Awadh in their works. The following is a specimen of his composition :

हुंडी लिखै न हाथ से जग न रखै मूल
लेय व्याज देने नहीं सोई सराफा मूल
जग सराफ ताको कहै जग समय पर देय
व्यापारी सो जानिए, समय पै मुद्द लेय ॥^४

1. Dr. S.A. Haleem, "Development of Hindi literature during Akbar's Reign", Medieval India Quarterly, Jan-April, 1958, p.91.

2. Dr. S.A. Haleem, "Development of Hindi literature during Akbar's Reign", M.I. Quarterly, Aligarh, Jan-April, 1958, p.91; Gerson, "Vernacular literature of Hindustan," p.29.

3. Dr. S.A. Haleem, op.cit, p. 91.

4. Dr. Saryu Prasad Aggrawal, "Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi," 452-53; Dr. S.A. Haleem, op.cit. p.94, Nizamuddin Ahmad, Babur-i Akbari (Trans), Vol.II, p.660-661. S.M. Latif, "Agra: historical and Descriptive," p. 286

2- SUL DASS NATHAN MOHAN : He was an amin in Sandila in the Hardoi district, and was a famous poet. He was a Kayastha by caste. It is said that he spent thirty lacs of dams of the imperial revenue on the Sadhus and left the couplet in the office before decamping. But Akbar pardoned him and allowed him to remain in company of the Sadhus at Brindaban. He was also a devotee of Lord Krishna.¹

3- CHHEM KAVI :² Another well known poet of this region was Chhem of Balmau, district near Bareilly. It is said that he was present in Humayun's court from 1530-40.

4. RAJA BIRBAL : His original name was Mahesh Dass and he belonged to a family of Upper class Brahmin of Tikwanpur in the Kalpi district. On account of his poetic talents he became a courtier. His verses and compositions were very much liked by Akbar, who conferred upon him the title of Guniraj. According to Fadaoni, Birbal was instrumental in initiating the latter in tenets and practices of Hinduism. Birbal was a great patron of poets and himself he is said have composed a large number of verses under the pen name Erahman. No independent literary work of Birbal is available, except his

1. Dr. Saryu Prasad Aggrawal, "Akbar Darbar Ka Hindi Kavi," p. 46-49; Ram Chandra Shukla, Hindi Sahitya ka Itihas, p. 180.

2. Grierson, "Modern Vernacular literature of Hindustan," p. 34.

isolated verses on Ram Lila and Krishna Lila. He wrote in Braj dialect. Here are few lines from his verse :

नवनीत लिए निरल कर नवनीरज सी अंखिया जुग राती
नव पल्लव से फटके अघरा नवकुन्द कली मुख में मृदुदाती
नूतन श्याम तमाल सली सुलखे हवि होति हिए ते नहाती,
मोहन मुरति नन्दलाला की बलाई लगीं 'द्विज' ब्रह्म की हाती ॥^१

5- ABDUR RAHIM KHAN KHANAN: was one of nine jewels of Akbar's court and the best court poet. He possessed a quiet temper and was extremely liberal in extending patronage to the poets and scholars. He is reported to have been in poetic correspondence with Tulsidass. Himself he was a learned man well versed in Turki, Persian, and Hindivi. He wrote under his pen name Rahim. He was the author of large number of work such as, Madan Shatak, (मदन शतक), Bhairav Naiyaka Ehed (भैरव नायिका भेद), Sahitya Sur (साहित्य सुर) and Rahim Satsai (रहीम सतसई). He wrote in Braj dialect and he was a prolific writer of his times.²

1. Dr. Saryu Prasad Aggrawal, "Akbar Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi", p. 78; M. A. Ghani, "Development of Persian literature", Vol. III, p. 260-61; Ram Chandra Shukla, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas", p. 193; Dr. Ram Kumar Verma, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas", p. 600; Grierson, "Modern Vernacular literature of Hindustan", p. 34-35, Dr. S.A. Haleem, op.cit. p. 95; Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 404; S.M. Latif, "Agra : Historical and descriptive," p. 271-280.

2. Dr. Saryu Prasad Aggrawal, "Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi", p. 133-148; M.A. Ghani, "Development of Persian literature", Vol. III p. 220; 222; Ram Chandra Shukla, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas"; Dr. Ram Kumar Verma, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas", p. 599; Grierson, op.cit. p. 37; A.L. Srivastava, "Akbar the Great", Vol. III, p. 135; Dr. S.A. Haleem, op.cit. p. 95;

6- GANG : Another great poet of this region was Gang. He was a resident of Eknor in Etawah District. His full name was Gang Prasad Brahman. He mainly wrote in Braj Bhasha. He was a great poet of merit. His important work is Cangawali, a treatise on poetic art and his compositions are found in Cangpadawali, Cangpachisi and Gang katnawali.¹

7. MAN LAI : he was a bard poet of Asni, in Fathpur district (1523).²

8- HOL LAI BRAHMAN LAKHTA: He was a resident of Halpur in Rae Bareilly district. He flourished in the sixteenth century and was a contemporary of Tulsi Dass. His isolated verses are available.³

9. RAM DASS: Of Poachal. (1550) He was the father of Sur Dass and was one of the court singer of Akbar. According to Badaoni he came from Lucknow. He appears to have been with Bairam Khan during his rebellion and it is said that once he received from him one lac tankas. He was in the beginning at the court of Islam Shah and was considered to be second to Tansen.

1. D.N. Marshall, "Mughals in India, Vol. I, p. 148; Dr. Sarju Prasad Aggrawal, "Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi", p. 158-59; Dr. S. A. Haleem, op.cit, p. 95.

2. Grierson, op. cit, p. 41.

3. Dr. Sarju Prasad Aggrawal, op.cit, p. 34; Ram Chandra Shukla, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas", p. 207; Grierson, op. cit. p. 41; Dr. Ram Kumar Verma, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas", p. 601.

- 10- NARHARI SALAY: (1550) he was a resident of Asni, of Fathpur district. He attended the court of Akbar and his discendants survived at Benaras, Rae Bareilly and different parts of this region.
- 11- HARI NATH : (1587) He was also a resident of Asni in Fathpur district. He was a celebrated poet and was son of Narhari the famous poet of Akbar's court.
- 12- LAL DASS : He belonged to Rae Bareilly district and was author of Bhagwat Dasham Skandh and Madhav Vilas (माधव विलास).¹ He wrote these works in Awadhi dialect.
- 13- SENAPATI: He was a resident of Anup ~~sh~~ Shahr in Bulandshahr district. His father's name was Cangadhar. He wrote² large number of verses and was author of many works.
14. BENI: He was a native of Asni in Fathpur district. He³ wrote a large number of verses.
- 15- SAHASWATI: The poet laureate and a Brahmin of Benaras. he flourished during 1650. He was learned in Sanskrit composition. His principal work was Kavindra Kalpa Lata in which there are many poems, which had been written in praise⁴ of Dara and Begam Sahib.

1. Dr. Ram Kumar Verma, Hindi Sahitya ka Alochanatmak Itihas, p. 474.⁵
2. Ibid, p. 473.

16- KALIDASS TRIVEDI: of Banpura of Doab. He flourished in 1700 A.D. He was an excellent and famous poet of Doab. He remained in attendance of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in Golkunda for many years. He composed many verses. Among his famous works are Radha Madhav milan, Pudh Vinod and Kalidass Hajara.¹

17- BEDANG RAI: Another famous poet of this region was Bedang Rai. He flourished in 1650. He was the author of Parsi Parikas, a work describing the manner of counting the months etc, and which was compiled under the orders of Shahjahan.²

18. INDRAJIT TRIPATHI: of Banpura in the Doab. He was in the service of Aurangzeb and was an accomplished poet.³

19. ISEWAR : (1673) He was an accomplished poet of Aurangzeb's court.⁴

Among the other important poets of this region were, (I) Feni, resident of Asni in Fathpur district,⁵ (ii) Matiram⁶ the brother of Chintamani Tripathi, a resident of

1. D.N. Marshall, op.cit. Vol.I. p. 237 (n.833).

2. Grierson, op.cit, p.71.

3. Grierson, op.cit, p.72.

4. Grierson, op.cit. p.72.

5. Ram Chandra Shukla, Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas, p.113.

6. Ram Chandra Shukla, Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas, p.243; Ram Kumar Verma, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas," p.599; L.S. Varshaneya, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas," p.204; Grierson, Modern Vernacular literature of Hindustan," p.62.

Tikwanpur in the Kanpur district, (iii) ¹Sukhdeva, a native of
 Dalalpur in the Rae Bareilly district and the author of Adhyatma
Prakash, Vrat Sagar, etc., (iv) ²Kasidass and (v) ³Jai Ram of
 Akbar's court, (vi) ⁴Dev Kavi of Etawah (1673-1689) and author
 of Bhav Vilas, and (vii) ⁵Bhikari Dass a native of Payaga in the
 Pratapgarh district.

There is another category of the Hindu poets of this
 region who specialised in Riti Kavya (रीति काव्य) and Nayika
Bhed (नायिका भेद). Among the poets of this category the most
 famous were ⁶Eihari, ⁷Ghana Nand, ⁸Bhushan, ⁹Keshav Dass and many
 others.

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1. Ram Kumar Verma, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas", p. 597.
 2. Ram Kumar Verma, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas", p. 599.
 3. Ram Kumar Verma, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas", p. 599.
 4. L.S. Varshaneya, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas", p. 208; Dr. Dhirendra Verma, "Hindi Sahitya", Vol. II, p. 413; Grierson, op.cit, p.60.
 5. L.S. Varshaneya, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas", p. 209; Dr. Dhirendra Verma, "Hindi Sahitya", Vol. II, p. 416-17.
 6. Dr. Dhirendra Verma, "Hindi Sahitya" Vol. II, p. 407.
 7. Dr. Dhirendra Verma, "Hindi Sahitya", Vol. II, p. 415-416; L.S. Varshaneya, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas", p. 214;
 8. Dr. Dhirendra Verma, "Hindi Sahitya" Vol. II, p. 166;
 9. Dr. Dhirendra Verma, "Hindi Sahitya" Vol II, p. 163, 337; Dr. S.A. Laleem, "Development of Hindi literature, During Akbar Reign", "Medieval India Quarterly, Jan-April, 1958, p. 97, 98.

There was still another category of the Hindu poets who were known as musician poets. Among them the most noteworthy and famous were, Sur Dass, ¹Tansen, Jagannath Mahakavi Raj and others. All of them belonged to this region. Most of the songs of Sangita Rag Kalpadrum, have been taken from Sur Sagar of Sur Dass. After his arrival from the court of Raja Ram Chandra Baghela Tan Sen passed the rest days of his life at the Mughal court. He composed a large number of devotional songs and invoked Mahesh, Ganesh, Parvati and Parmeshwara and occasionally referred to the sports of Lord Krishna. He does not invoke Ram and Krishna in his compositions. And his diction is completely Braj. He wrote Sangit Sar, Rangmala, Ganesh Strotam. Then there was Lal Khan Gun Samudra, his son-in-law, who was also a great musician poet of the Mughal court. The best Hindu musician poet was Jagannath of Shahjahan's reign. He enjoyed the title of ²Mahakavi Raj.

There were large number of Muslim poets in this region who either composed their verses in Awadhi or in Braj Bhasha. Among these poets the most important and famous were the following : (1) Maulana Rizaquallah Mushtaqi, uncle of

1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol II, p. 681, Sarju Prasad Aggrawal, "Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi", p. 98-114

2. D.N. Marshall, Mughals in India, Vol. II, p. 215; Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, "History of Shahjahan of Dhilli," p. 268.

Abdul Haq Haqqi, the great Maulana of Delhi. Alizaquallah

M-US-LIM POETIS

wrote treatises in Hindi under the

OF

pen name Jat Niranjan. Another

HINDI.

outstanding poet of this region was

Malik Muhammad Jaisi, the author of Padmavat, Akhrawat and

Akhiri Kalam. Shaikh Muhammad Chaus was another prolific

writer and author of Lahar-ul-Nayat Jawahiri Khamsa and

Keval-e-Chausa. (4) One of the disciples of Shaikh Muhammad

Chaus was poet Manjan, a resident of Chunar and the author

of Lachhu Malti. He wrote his work in Awadhi. (5) In the reign

of Akbar, Ali Quli Khan Zaman was a prominent figure of Jaunpur.

He was a great poet. (6) Another famous poet was Usman, who

wrote in Hindi. He belonged to Chazipur and was a disciple of

Shaikh Nizam of Nanaul. He wrote Chitrawali in Awadhi during

1. For his life sketch, see, S.A. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, (Bebar) 69-70; Dr. S.L.P. Nigam, Sur Vamshe Ka Itihas, p.5-6; Dr. S.A. Hakeem, Development of Hindi Literature during Akbar's reign, Medieval India Quarterly, Aligarh, Jan-April, 1958, p.92.

2. Abdul Ghani, Development of Persian literature, II, p.119-120; Grierson, "Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan" p.15; Dr. Dharendra Varma, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas", Vol. II, p.355-56; Ram Chandra Shukla, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas" p.84.

3. Badaoni, "Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh (Trans) Vol. III, p.6-10; Abdul Ghani, Vol. III, op.cit, p.17-21; Grierson, op.cit, p.15;

4. Dr. Ram Kumar Varma, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Alochanatmak Itihas" p.307.

5. Abdul Ghani, Vol. III, op.cit. p.17; Grierson, op.cit, p.15.

6. P.L. Chaturvedi, "Sufi Kavya Sangraha", p.79; Ram Chandra Shukla, Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas, p.105.

the reign of Emperor Jahangir.(7) Another famous poet ¹Kutban wrote his Mri. awati at Jaunpur.(8) ²Shaikh Nabi who belonged to Mau in Jaunpur district and who belonged to Jahangir's reign was also a famous poet. he was the author of Gyan Deep (ज्ञान दीप).(9) ³Jauhari: He flourished during the reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan. His real name was Niyamat Khan. He composed Motnawali (रत्नावली) an' about seven hundred isolated verses.(10) ⁴Lubarsk: (1633) was a resident of Bilagram. He was an outstanding poet. His original name was Sayyid Muhammad Ali, who was quite conversant with Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. He wrote Alakshatak (अलक शतक) Tilakshatak (तिलक शतक).(11) ⁵Shah Allan: belonged to the reign of Aurangzeb. He wrote Prem Prakash. He was born in Bilagram in Awadh.(12) Another famous poet ⁶Jamal was born in

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1. Ram Chandra Shukla, " Hindi Sahitya ke Itihas ", p.84.
 2. Ram Chandra Shukla, " Hindi Sahitya ka Itihas " p.109.
 3. Govind Sakhararam Datar, "Contribution of Muslim poets in Hindi Literature"(un-published thesis) p.284.
 4. Dr. Dharendra Varma, " Hindi Sahitya " Vol.II, p.405.
 5. Govind Sakhararam Datar, " Contribution of Muslim poets in Hindi Literature "(un-published thesis) p.284.
 6. Ibid, p.384.

Pihani in District Hardoi in 1544. He wrote some of the isolated verses in Hindi. (13) Faizi is also said to have written some isolated verses in Hindi. (14) Sayyid Pihani, belonged to Qadiri order and he was an author of large number of isolated verses in Hindi. (15) Raskhan was a Pathan and a resident of Delhi. He came into contact with Swami Vithal Dass the head of Vallabha Sampradaya and wrote Prem Ratna and Sujan Raskhan in 1614. (16) Another famous poet was Qadiri Daksh of Pihani in Hardoi district. No work of his is available except some isolated verses in Hindi. (17) Another poet was Ahmad, who was born in 1603 and he was author of a few Hindi verses. (18) Hajjab Ji: He was a disciple of Dadu Dayal and he was the author of Hajjab Bani (रज्ज बानी) (19) Tai: She was a Muslim woman. She was born in 1652 in Karauli village in Uttar Pradesh. She was a devotee of Lord Krishna.

1. ' Ain(Trans) I, p.618-633; S.A.Haleem, op.cit. p.94.

2. Govind Sakharan Datar, op.cit. p.384.

3. Ram Chandra Shukla, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas" p.113; Dr. Dharendra Varma, "Hindi Sahitya" Vol.II, p.388; Grierson, op.cit. p.32.

4. Govind Sakharan Datar, op.cit. p.389; Ram Chandra Shukla, "Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas", p.272.

5. Govind Sakharan Datar, op.cit. p.442.

6. Govind Sakharan Datar, op.cit. p.442.

7. Govind Sakharan Datar, op.cit, p.448; Grierson, op.cit. p.32-33.

Among the famous Hindi prose writers of the period in the region under review were (1) Swami Vithal Nath son of Vallebhacharya of Brindaban. He was the author of (मक्ति हेतु, भक्ति हंस, शृंगार रस मण्डल आदि - - - ¹) (2). Swami Lokul Nath ² Ji son of Vithal Nath Ji wrote Chaurasi Vaishnav ki Varta ³ (3) Ganga Bhatta was another prose writer of this period. ⁴ (4) Dharamuni was the author of Updeshmala Balbandhu. ⁵ (5) Haripriya, wrote a large number of works in prose, viz. श्री जमुना जी के रामा, श्री आचार्य महाप्रभु के स्वरूप आदि । Thus, there was no dearth of prose writers in Braj Bhasha in this region in this period.

It has earlier been related that the region under review was also inhabited by the Jains. It is true that they might have been in minority, but still then some of them produced literary works of very high order and contributed to jain literature. It is not possible here to give the details of

1. Asht Chhap Aur Vallabha Samrajaya, Vol.I, p.75-76: Dr.S.A. Haleem, op.cit, p.78;

2. Vin Dayal Gupta, Vol.I, op.cit, p.80

3. S.A.Haleem, op.cit.p.98.

4. S.A.Haleem, op.cit,p.98.

5. S.A.Haleem, op.cit,p.98; Ram Chandra Shukla, " Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas " p.182.

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all the Jain writers. A few of them were: (1) Banarsi Dass Jain:
He was born in Jaunpur. His father's name was Aharegsen. He
started composing verses in his childhood. Among his famous
works are, Nam Mala (नाम माला) Banarsi Vilas, (बनारसी
विलास), Samaya Sagar (समय सागर), Natak Samaya
Sagar (नाटक समय सागर) and Arbh Kathanak (अर्ध कथानक
(2) Rup Chand: (1635). He was a born poet. He was born at
Salempur. Afterwards he went to Denaras and then returned from
there and settled down at Paryapur. He wrote a large number
of works such as Rup Chandra Shatak (रूप चन्द शतक) Panch
Mangal, (पंच मंगल), Nem Nath Ras (नेम नाथ रास) and
Pad Sangraha (पद संग्रह), (3) Kunwar Pal: He was a friend
of Banarsi Dass Jain and was son of Amar Singh, an Oswal. He
belonged to the Shwetambar order of Jainism. Himself he was a
gifted poet. He wrote a Gutaka and Samyak Battisi (4) Bhagwati
Dass: He flourished during the reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan.
Among his well known works are, Aditya Vrata Ras, Das Lakshan
has etc. (5) Nand Kavi: He lived at Agra and in 1613 wrote

1. Banarsi Dass Jain, Arbh Kathanak, edited by Mata Prasad Gupta, p.5-14; Dr. Dharendra Varma, Hindi Sahitya, vol. II, p.479.

2. Dr. Dharendra Varma, Hindi Sahitya, Vol. II, p.482.

3. Dr. Dharendra Varma, "Hindi Sahitya", Vol. II, p.482.

4. Dr. Dharendra Varma, Hindi Sahitya, Vol. II, p.483.

5. Dr. Dharendra Varma, Hindi Sahitya, Vol. II, p.485.

Yashodhar Charit (यशोधरा चरित) (6) ¹ Mahim Samudra: He was born at Agra in 1613 and died in 1684. He wrote Tatva Prabodh Natak (तत्त्व प्रबोध नाटक) (7) ² Dhyant Rai: (1676): He was the son of Vir Dass and was born at Agra in 1676 and died in 1685. In 1623 he wrote Dharam Vilas and Agam Vilas (8) ³ One of the contemporaries of Dhyant Rai was Bhudar Dass of Agra, who was also a top ranking poet, (9) ⁴ Vinodi Lal Aggrawal: He was a poet of Shahzadpur and in 1673 he wrote Shripal Vinod Katha (श्रीपाल विनोद कथा). He was born in 1621. He also wrote Nem Nath Mangal (नेम नाथ मंगल) and Vishnu Kumar Katha (⁵ विष्णु कुमार कथा). (11) Lakshmi Chandra: He was the author of Gyan Varnan and died in 1611 A.D.

Besides, these poets there were numerous others who belonged to this region and who enriched the vernacular literature by their outstanding literary contributions. The literary trends, themes and thoughts reflect the ideas and ideals of the contemporary poets and the state of society. In

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1. Dr. Dharendra Varma, Hindi Sahitya, Vol. II, p. 489
 2. Dr. Dharendra Varma, Hindi Sahitya, Vol. II, p. 491-92.
 3. Dr. S. A. Haleem, op. cit. p. 96; Grierson, op. cit. 58-59; Dr. Dharendra Varma, Hindi Sahitya, Vol. II, p. 491-92.
 4. Dr. Dharendra Varma, Hindi Sahitya, Vol. II, p. 492-93.
 5. Dr. Dharendra Varma, ' Hindi Sahitya ', Vol. II, p. 493.

the verses may the compositions of the poets of this region is also reflected the atmosphere in which the poets lived as members of society and the extent of freedom they enjoyed to carry their imagination to any heights. A devotee, whether he was a worshipper of Islam or Krishna, a poet musician, a court poet or he may be prose writer, each was conscious of his existence and surroundings and was anxious to meticulously follow the rules of grammar, and rhetoric.

Persian being the court language, it became popular in the region under review. From Dabur to the close of the reign of Aurangzeb there is a brilliant row of the poets who migrated to this region from Bukhara, Samarcand, Herat and Turkistan and other countries. The magnificence of the Mughal court attracted them. It is surprising that during the two

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hundred and twenty years of

Calvi's rule there was not a single

Persian poet of merit and originality at the Persian court. But during the same period, a large number of Persian poets thronged at the Mughal court. Incidentally it may be pointed out that from 1526 onwards a large number of Persian poets and scholars came to India and settled down in the different parts of the region under review. Along with them the centre of Persian literature gradually shifted to Hindustan.

Among the renowned scholars, who made decisive contribution to the varied field of Persian literature were: Babar, the founder of the Mughal Empire, Mir Abul Faza, Shaikh

Zain Sadr son of Shaikh Zain Khwafi, Shaikh Abdul Wajid Farighi, Sultan Muhammad Kusa, Maulana Shihab Nuammal, Surkh Wifai, Mulla Baqi, Khwaja Nizamuddin Khalifa, Mir Darvesh Muhammad Sarban, Khwand Mir, Shaikh Azizullah of Saubhal, Shaikh Illahdiya of Jaunpur and others. Baber completed his "Memoirs" in Turki, wrote a book of Mashnavi, named Mubin, versified Risala-i-walidiya and composed several verses in Persian at Agra. Of the forementioned scholars Mir Abul Daga was a learned man, Shaikh Zain Sadr was skilled in prose and art of letter writing. He was an accomplished scholar of Turki, Arabic and Persian. Baber held a very high opinion about his scholarship and formidable pen. Baber has produced the specimen of his writings in his "Memoirs". According to Badaoni, he was a great scholar of the age and was the first to translate into Persian the Turki "Memoirs" of Baber. He also wrote a commentary on Mubayyan, a treatise written by Baber on Hanfi jurisprudence. His position as a poet was as great as a scholar. He wrote poetry under the pen name Wafai. Shaikh Zain also wrote a work on history dealing with the conquest of Hindustan by Baber, which is referred by Badaoni as a exquisite and faithful composition. He died at Chunar three years after the death of Baber and was buried there within the precincts¹ of the college of which he was the founder. Shaikh Abul Wajid

1. B.N.(Trans), p.553,559,;Badaoni(Trans)Vol. III, p.448;M Muhammad Abdul Ghani,Development of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court(Baber to Akbar),Allahabad,1929, p.105-106.

Farighi was a poet, Sultan Muhammad Kusa a critic of poetry, SHAIKH ZAINUDDIN ABUL WAJID and Maula Shihab Nuammi FARIGHI AND OTHER POETS. whose poetical name was Hagiri was famous for learning, eloquence and poetry. Shaikh Wadai was an "old and inartificial poet," and he wrote both in Persian and Turki. Maulana Dacai, wrote a maghavi in the metre of the famous work Nakhzan-i-Asrari. Among the historians of Baber's reign who came from abroad and settled down here mention can be made of Khwandmir. He came to Baber's court at Agra in September 1528 with the object of obtaining patronage and his favour. Baber welcomed him. He wrote Habib-us-Siyar, Khulasat-u-Akbar, Dastur-ul-Wuzra and Qanun-i-Humayuni. The last named work was written by him during the reign of Humayun. It seems that he spent the remaining days of his life at Agra and died at the age of sixty three in 1535 A.H. Muhammad Abdul Ghani has referred to Shaikh Azizullah of Sambhal and Shaikh Illah Diya of Jaunpur, amongst the contemporaries of Baber. The former came from Multan with Shaikh

1. A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p.280; He was also known as Maulana Shihabuddin the Enigamalist. He excelled in prose and poetry. He copied quran in Baber's script and wrote an anthology of Persian and Turki poetry. He also composed a book on Hanfi Theology called Mubaiyyin. See Badaoni(Trans) Vol.I, p.449-50.

2. A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p.281.

3. A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p.281; Badaoni(Trans) Vol.I, p.449; B.K. Sahay, 'Education and Learning under the Great Mughals' p.166.

4. A.N.(Trans) Vol.I, p.281; B.K.Sahay, op.cit. p.165.

Abdullah, took up his residence at Sambhal and attained eminence as a great scholar and teacher. As regards, Shaikh ILWANDMIR, SHAIKH AZIZULLAH Illah Diya of Jaunpur; he was OF SAMBHAL AND OTHERS. a great scholar and of Arabic and Persian. He was a master of grammar and Muslim jurisprudence. He wrote large number of standard works. It is related that he was patronised by Sultan ¹ Sikandar Lodi. Besides, these there were host of other poets and scholars belonging to this region who enriched Persian language and literature during the reign of Baber.

During the reign of Humayun Agra continued to attract scholars from the distant countries and the neighbouring regions. Shaikh Amanullah Panipati, a leading poet of his age and a Sufi, arrived at Agra and gave proofs of his merit and skill in composing the ² qasidas. Among the other poets who flourished at the Mughal court during the reign of Humayun were, Shaikh Zainuddin Khwafi Wafai, Maulana Junudi Badakhshi, Mulana Nadiri Samarcandi, Shaikh Abdul Wajid Farighi, Jani POETS AND SCHOLARS OF HUMAYUN'S Tammanai, Haider Tunvan, REIGN BELONGING TO THIS REGION. Shah Tahir Khwanti Pakhni, Khwaja Ayyub, Qasim Kahi, ³ Shaikh Jamali, Shaikh Gada'i, Shaikh Abdul Wahid Bilgrami, and

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1. Muhammad Abdul Ghani, Vol.I, p.93-96*
 2. B.K.Sahay, op.cit, p.166; Dr. S.K. Banerji, Humayun Badshah, Vol.II, p.371-2.
 3. B.K.Sahay, op.cit, p.166-68; Abdul Ghani, Vol.II, p.69-70.

many others. About Junubi, Badaoni writes, "his quatrain can be read in three metres and with interposition of the words can form other quatrains which again could be recited in more than one metre"¹. It is said that he wrote a history of India and died in Chunar, where he was buried in a madarsa² built by him. Nadiri wrote in the honour of his handsome beloved Nizam and died in 966 A.H. Farighi³ lived like a carvesh and used to recite his verses in sweet voice. He died in 940 A.H. Shaikh Cadai was a born poet and used to compose and sing religious verses. After the death of Humayun he repaired to the court of Akbar at the invitation of Bairam Khan, who raised him to the rank of Sadr-us-sudur. After the fall of Bairam Khan he left for Delhi, his native place where he died in 1588-89.⁴ Shaikh Abdul Wahid Bilgrami was a native of Bilgram and the author of a commentary on Nuzhal-ul-Arwah, a treatise on the technical terms of the Sufis. He was also the author of Sanabil. Badaoni mentions that he met him in 1569-70. He died in 1608-9.⁵ Maulana Nadiri Samargandi was a great

1. S.k.Banerji, op.cit, p.367

2. Ibid, p.367.

3. Ibid, p.368.

4. Badaoni (Trans) Vol.III, p.122-23; B.K.Sahay, op.cit, p.167; Abdul Chani, Vol.II, p.43-44.

5. Badaoni (Trans) Vol.III, p.106-7; B.K.Sahay, op.cit, p.167.

scholar of Arabic and Persian. He came from Samargand to Agra and was given a place among the nobles of the court. According to Badaoni, he was one of the wonders of the age, of excellent qualities and a compendium of perfection. He wrote ghazals, rubais, and gasidas. Some of the verses which he wrote in praise of Humayun have been quoted by Badaoni in his ¹ work. Maulana Jasim Kahi: was a distinguished scholar and a favourite of the Mughal Emperor Humayun. According to Abul Fazl, "he is known as Miyan Kahi. He knew something of ordinary sciences and lived quiet and content. He rarely mixed with the people of high position." While according to Badaoni, "although his verses are crude and his ideas all stolen from others yet they are written in connected style and in this respect Kahi had no equal. He was well versed in astronomy, Rhetoric, and mysticism of the Sufis and wrote a treatise on the music. In short he had no equal in his time, in knowledge of mysticism of the Sufis, the art of composing enigmas, history of elocution and other various ² arts." Maulana Junubi Badakhshi: ranked amongst the foremost poets of Humayun's reign. He was a renowned ³ enigmatist of his time. Shaikh Zainuddin Khwafi: (Wafai). He was known by his poetical name Wafai and was in imperial

1. Badaoni (Trans) Vol. I, p. 611; 613-4; B.K. Sahay, op.cit. p. 167; Abdul Ghani, Vol. II, p. 38.

2. Badaoni (Trans) Vol. III, p. 242, 243; B.K. Sahay, op.cit. p. 168; For details about Kahi, see, Islamic Culture, XXVII, p. 99-131; No. 4, p. 199-224;

3. Badaoni (Trans) Vol. I, p. 606-608; B.K. Sahay, op.cit. p. 168.

service since Baber's time. He was a learned man. He died during the reign of Humayun. According to Badaoni " he was the possessor of excellences both, bodily and mental and in construction of enigmas and chronograms, and in extempore versification and in all the minutes of poetry and prose and in rhetoric he was unapproachable in his own age". ¹ Sheikh

Abdul Wahid Farighi: He was a man of Cufi bent of mind and led a simple life. He was famous for sweet sayings. His death took place at Agra. ² Jahi Yatman: Originally he belonged to Bukhara.

He came to India and joined Humayun's service. He was well versed in composing verses and became famous as a satirist. ³

Haider Tunyani Darvesh: He was conversant with the technicalities of music. He was a musician and poet both. He wrote Dunwazdeh ⁴ magam a work on music and dedicated it to Humayun.

The age of Akbar (1556-1605) constitutes brilliant epoch in the history of Persian literature." It was characterised both by the bold adventures in the realm of thought and prolific output of belles-letters in different branches of learning. ⁵ Akbar's scholarly taste and liberal

1. Badaoni(Trans)Vol.I,p.610;B.K.Sahay,op.cit.p.158-59;

2. Badaoni(Trans)Vol.I,p.617;B.K.Sahay,op.cit.p.169;Abdul Chani,Vol.II,p.69-70.

3. Badaoni(Trans)Vol.I,p.619;B.K.Sahay,op.cit.p.169.

4. Badaoni(Trans) Vol.I,p.622;B.K.Sahay,op.cit.p.169;P.N. Marshall,Mughals in India,Vol.I,p.171(n.578).

5. Prof.K.A.Nizami," Persian Literature under Akbar", Medieval India Quarterly,Jan-April,1958.p.300.

patronage of men of letters attracted scholars, men of letters, philosophers, poets from every part of the Persian speaking world to his court at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri. A large number of poets and scholars basked under the sun shine of Akbar's favour and one of the poets of the period confessed that: " The means of acquiring perfection do not exist in Iran. The Hens does not acquire colour till it comes to India." The Persian poets found congenial atmosphere at Akbar's court and they contributed much to the different branches of Persian literature.

Before ^{en}pre_Asting a long list and account of the Persian poets and scholars, who flourished in the region under review during Akbar's reign it would be pertinent to observe that (1) the Persian literature " mirrors the spritual and moral urges and social ideals of the age." (2) it breathes the spirit of tolerance and cosmopolitanism and (3) it emphasises the universal truth. All these features are the basic characteristics of the type of culture which flourished in the region under review. Universalism, humanism and tolerance were the gifts of the Bhakti and the Sufi saints of this region and they were freely and unreluctantly adopted by the Muslim poets and scholars. Again, it was under Akbar that the frontiers of Persian language were widened and it became an important language of the people of this region.

The volume of literature produced in Persian at the

two imperial capitals, Agra and Fatehpur Sikri visa vis this region can be divided into following sections: (a) Persian poetry (b) Historical literature (c) Translations.

(a) Persian Poetry:

Akbar had inherited scholarly tastes from his father Humayun. He was greatly interested in Persian classics, which were read in his presence. These Persian classics must have profoundly influenced his mind and familiarised him with literary trends, the Muslim religious and political thought of his age. It is said that he could compose fine verses in Persian and was an excellent critic of Persian poetry. Muhammad Arif Qandhari has quoted one of his verses. Another verse of his has been quoted by Abul Fazl. Some of the contemporary and later works like Nafais-ul-Waasir, Urafat-ul-Ashoin, Riaz-us-Shura and Tarikh-i-Roz-i-Maushan have also given some of his verses.

Among the famous Persian poets, who adorned Akbar's court at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri were: Faizi, Urfi, Naziri, Ghazali Mashhadi, Qasim Kahi and many others. Akbar had appointed Ghazali Mashhadi as his first poet laureate. Qasim Kahi,

1. Prof. K.A. Nizami, op.cit., p.304.

2. Ibid, p.305.

3. Ibid, p.305.

4. Ghazali Mashhadi wrote Diwan-i-Ghazali. This work is also known as Athar-al-Shabab. It is a collection of poems written by the poet, which he arranged alphabetically and dedicated it to Akbar in 968A.H. The poet had attached himself to Khan-i-Zaman the governor of Jaunpur. When his patron rose in rebellion he joined the imperial service. Akbar conferred upon him the title of Malik-ush-Shaura. He died in 1572. He also wrote a large
(contd)

another poet, made a valuable contribution to Persian poetry. According to Abul Fazl, "thousan¹ of poets are continuously at the court and many among them have completed a diwan or have written a masnavi¹. Abul Fazl has selected 59 as "the best among them". Nizamuddin has mentioned about 81 poets and Badaoni has given an account of 168 poets of Akbar's time.² Surprisingly enough there were only a few poets who originally belonged to the region under review or were born and brought up in this region. Except the Faizi brothers, the others, Khwaja Husain Sanai of Mashhad, Husaini of Ispahan, Qasim Kahi, Ghazali of Mashhad, Urfi of Shiraz, Mali of Herat, Jafar Beg of Qazwin, Khwaja Husain of Merv, Hayati of Gilan, and Darvesh Bahram Bukhari of Bukhara, had migrated from Persia to Agra and Fatehpur Sikri and had adopted this region as their home. It is not possible here to give a detailed account of their life and works.

Of these poets Shaikh Faizi deserves special attention. He was a great poet and Akbar's friend. He was the eldest son of Shaikh Mubarak, who had migrated to Agra and settled down there. Shaikh Faizi was born in 954 A.H. Early in his life Shaikh Faizi acquired deep knowledge of Arabic

(Contd) number of masnavis, one of which is entitled, Mashad-e-Anwar, See D.N. Marshall, Mughals in India, Vol. I, p. 152; 'Ains (Trans) Vol. I, p. 638-649; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbar (Trans) Vol. II, p. 714.

1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, p. 626; also quoted by Prof. Nizami, op. cit. p. 307; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i-Akbari (Trans) Vol. II, p. 715.

2. Prof. K.A. Nizami, op. cit. p. 308.

literature, art of poetry and medicine. His literary fame reached Akbar's ears and in the 12th year of his reign, Akbar summoned him to the court. Akbar received him favourably and within a short time the latter became his constant companion and friend. In the 30th year of Akbar's reign he was made Malik-ush-Shaura, poet laureate. He was a great scholar of Arabic and Persian, Sanskrit and was well versed in history, theology, philosophy and other subjects. He wrote nearly for forty years under the name Faizi, which he afterwards changed to Fayyazi. He composed a large number of verses, and was the author of nearly 101 books. According to Badaoni he wrote about 20,000 verses. But according to Abul Fazl the number of his verses was no less than 50,000. In "Ain-i-Akbari" Abul Fazl mentions that "the gems of thought in his poems will never be forgotten should leisure permit". Many of Faizi's verses have been quoted by Abul Fazl in 'Ain'. Among his famous poetical works are: Diwan-i-Faizi; which is a collection of lyrical poems, qasidas, etc. Marhaz-aladwar; which is a Persian

1. 'Ain(Trans)Vol.I,p.548-50:618;Nizamuddin Ahmad,Tabqat-i-Akbari(Trans)Vol.II,p.716-717;Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts at Banarpore,Vol.II,p.202-204;Rien,Catalogue,Vol.II,p.670-71; S.M-Latif,Agra-Historical and Descriptive,p.271.

2.' Ain(Trans)Vol.I,p.618.

3.' Ain(Trans)Vol.I,p.620-33.

4. See,Ain(Trans)Vol.I,p.620-633;'S.M.Latif" Agra;Historical and Descriptive " p.258.

5. 'Ain(Trans) Vol.I.p.691(n.5)

masnavi poem of didactic nature, which was composed in 1585.¹
Nal-wa -Daman: is a Persian Masnavi poem dedicated to Akbar
dealing with the romance of Nal and Damayanti. It was composed
in 1594-95.² Zafar Namah-e-Ahamdabad is another masnavi on the
conquest of Ahamadabad by Akbar in 1573.³ Mashid-al-Safar: is a
Qasida describing his mission to Burhan Nizam Shah in 1591.⁴

Faizi also excelled in prose writing in Arabic and Persian and in making translations. His Sharikat--marifat, is a Rasa
Persian treatise on the Vedantic philosophy, based on Sanskrit
sources like Yogvashishtha and Bhagwat Puran.⁵ Lilawati: is a
Persian translation of Bhaskarcharya's celebrated Sanskrit
work on arithmetic and geometry. This work was translated at
Akbar's order in 1587.⁶ Swali-al-Ilham: is an Arabic comentary
on Quran. Another famous work of Faizi is Mawarid-al-Kilam
which, " contain no dotted letters and is an imparishable
monument of his genious."⁷ Faizi also translated two Parvas
of Mahabharat and Som Dev's KathaSarit Sagar in Persian.⁸

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1. 'Ain(Trans) Vol. I, p. 619 (n. 5)
 2. D. N. Marshall, op. cit. p. 143
 3. Ibid, p. 143;
 4. Ibid, p. 143.
 5. Ibid, p. 143.
 6. Ibid, p. 144.
 7. Ibid, p. 144.
 8. D. N. Marshall, op. sit, p. 144.

Besides, his Darr-al-Kilam, is a work on philosophy in Arabic.¹
Insha-i-Faizi : is a collection of letters,² made in 1625-26 by.
Nuru'din Muhammad son of Ain-ul-Mulk Shirazi. Another great
writer of this period was Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. He was the
author of Risala-i-Ghausia and Jawahir-ul-Khamsa and Gulzar-ul-
Abrar. The last work is an important work on the Sufi saints of
India. He also wrote Manaqib-i-Ghausia.³

Akbar's age was also very rich in historical literature.
According to Prof. Nizami, "the real charm of this literature
lies in two things, first, it represents Persian language in its
various shades and forms, colloquial, simple, laboured and ornate
-prose and verse; secondly, it contains a study of the historical
landscape from the different angles and reflects all points of
view-imperial, sectarian and feminine."⁴ At Akbar's order large
number of historical works were compiled at Agra and Fathpur
Sikri, the two important centres of Persian literature in the
region under review. Gulbadan Begum wrote Humayun Nama in 1603
a work of great historical importance and a living record of the
command of Mughal lady on Persian language.⁵ Another work which

1. Ibid, p. 144.

2. Ibid, p. 144

3. Badaoni (Trans) Vol.III. p.6-10; Ain(Trans) Vol.I, p. 609;
Nizamuddin Ahmad, "Tabqat-i-Akbari" (Trans) Vol. II, p. 303;
Abdul Ghani, Vol.I. p. 102-5.

4. Prof. K.A. Nizami, op.cit. p. 316.

5. Mrs. Beveridge, Humayun Nama (Trans); Prof. K.A. Nizami,
op.cit. p.316-17; S.A.A. Rizvi, "Mughal Kalin Bharat" (Baber);
D.N. Marshall, op. cit, p. 165.

is believed to have been written at Agra was Tazkirat-ul-Waqiyat by Jauhar. Like Bayazid, Jauhar too did not belong to the literary class. He was Humayun's afabchi (ewer bearer). As an attendant Jauhar found ample opportunities to study the character and temperament of Humayun and with ease and simplicity he has narrated many contemporary political events. He has written "in plain unvarnished colloquial Persian." As he wrote thirty two years after the death of emperor Humayun, he could not present a connected account of the life and activities of his benefactor and patron. His failing memory perhaps on account of his old age did not allow him to present a succinct account. However, "taken as a whole, his work is extremely reliable and authentic record of Humayun's life and activities." This work was completed in 1586-7 A.D.

Rizaqullah Mushtaqi who was a great poet and a Scholar, besides being a saint wrote Waqiya-i-Mushtaqi which is, "a disorderly collection of narrative and anecdotes," relating to the period of the Lodis, the early Mughal Emperors and the provincial rulers.

Another great historian who belonged to this region

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1. Prof. K. A. Nizami, op. cit. p. 319.
 2. Prof. K.A. Nizami, op. cit. p. 319; D.N. Marshall, op. cit. p. 231; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. V, p. 136-149.
 3. Prof. K.A. Nizami, op. cit, p. 320.21;

was Abul Fazl. He was born at Agra on 14th January, 1551."As a writer, Abul Fazl stands unrivalled. His style is grand and free from the technicalities and force of his words, the structure of his sentences, the suitableness of his compounds, and the elegance of his periods, are such that it would be difficult for anyone to imitate them." He was the son of Shaikh Mubarak and was educated under father's care." His range of reading was extensive and before the age of twenty he had obtained the reputation of a deep and critical scholar. His attainments afterwards gained for him high sounding title of Allami. He was introduced to the court in seventeenth year of Akbar's reign and gradually rose to be the Prime Minister and the mansabdar of 4000. He gained unbounded confidence of the Emperor and discharged his duties both as a civilian and soldier with distinguished ability and success." Prince Salim, who disliked him brought about his murder in 1602.

He was the author of Akbar Nama (written in 1596) Ain-i-Akbari, Ayar-e-Danish, Munajat and many other works. There

1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I, Nizamuddin Ahmad(~~Trans~~) Tabqat-i-Akbari(Trans), Vol.II. P. 685; Rien, Catalogue, Vol.III, p.928-29; Abul Ghani, Vol. III.p.330; Rien, Catalogue, Vol.I.p.247-248; Catalogue of Bankipore, Vol. VII, p.49-50; Ethe Catalogue, Vol. I. p.107, 110-115; S.M.Latif, 'Agra: Historical and descriptive, p. 246-50.

2. Elliot & Dowson, Vol.VI, p.2; D.N. Marshall, op.cit, p.31;

5. For a detailed account of his life. See., Blochmann's translation of Ain-i-Akbari, p.1-36; M.U.(Trans) Vol. I.

are numerous letters which were written by him which were later on collected by his nephew Abdul Samad and Nur Muhammad. The first collection of letters is known as Makhatubat-e-Allami or Insha-i-Abul Fazl. These letters were collected by Abdul Samad in between 1602-7. The collection is divided into three parts (Daftars) The first part contains letters in Akbar's name, the second part contains letters written by Abul Fazl himself to Akbar and his nobles and the third consists of miscellaneous letters and prose pieces.¹ The second collection of letters is known as Rukat-i-Abul Fazl. These are private letters, which were addressed by Abul Fazl to his friends and contemporaries,² Another famous and well known work of Abul Fazl is Ayar-e-Danish which is a simplified prose version of famous Anwar-e-Suhayli in Persian.³ The work was written in 1588 at the request of Akbar. Abul Fazl's Munajat gives a detailed account of his religious views.⁴ Thus, Abul Fazl's contribution to historiography and Persian literature was quite significant.

One of the most erudite scholars of his age was Mulla Abdul Qadir Badaoni, who made also a decisive contribution to history and literature. He was born in 1540 and was the son of

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1. 'Ain (Trans) Vol. I; D.N. Marshall, op.cit, p.34.
 2. D.N. Marshall, op.cit. p. 35.
 3. D.N. Marshall, op.cit. p. 35.
 4. D.N. Marshall, op. cit. p.36.

Muluk Shah. Badaoni was a learned man, well versed in music, history and astronomy. He was frequently employed by Akbar to make translations from Arabic and Sanskrit to Persian. Amongst his famous works are, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh a general history of Hindustan from the time of Ghaznavides down to 40th year of Akbar's reign. This work was completed in 1596. It is divided into three parts, the first deals with the history of India from Subuktgin to Humayun's death, the second contains an account of the first forty years of Akbar's reign and the last portion is devoted to the biographies of the poets and men of learning, who adorned Akbar's court. The last portion contains the biographical account of 38 Shaikhs, 69 Scholars, 15 philosophers, and physicians and about 167 poets. While writing this work, Badaoni followed," a style which is on the whole very plain and simple out piquant and with an immitable touch of ridicule and satire. In spite of his exclusive and fanatical thinking, the book has a charm of its own,"¹ For the reign of Akbar, it is especially useful, as correcting, by its prevelant tone of censure and disparagement, the fulsome eulogium of Akbar Namah. Despite this systematic depreciation it has been observed that Abul Qadir Badaoni conveys a more favourable impression of the character of Akbar than the historical flourishes of court journalist."² Najat-ul-Rashid :

1. Prof. K.A.Nizami,op.cit,p.321.

2. Elliot & Dowson, Vol. V.p. 477/79; D.N. Marshall,op, Cit. p.17,S.M. Latif,"Historical And Descriptive," p.288; Rien, "Catologue of Persian M/S"Vol.I,p.222; Catalogue of Bankipore, Vol. VII,p.6-7; Ethe,"Catalogue",Vol.I.,p.105-6;Abdul Ghani, Vol.III,p.33-34.

was written in 1591. It is a sufico-ethical treatise, "richly interspersed with interesting historical anecdotes. Controversial discussions etc." Besides, Badaoni assisted in the translation of a few sections of Mahabharat (Razm-Namah) , Singhasan Battisi (Namah-i-Khirad-afza) and Tarikh-i-Kashmir. he also wrote Kitab-al-Hadith, "a work on the traditions of the Arabian Prophet. On the merit of waging war." This work was presented by him to Akbar in 1578. Badaoni also helped in the completion of Tarikh-i-Aifi. Thus, he was a prolific writer and one of the greatest historians of the period.

Besides, the forementioned ones, there were large number of historians who flourished at Agra and Fathpur Sikri. Among them mention can be made of Nizamuddin Ahmad, Haji Muhammad Arif, Mir Ala-ud-Daulah Qazwini, Naqib Khab, Ahmad bin Nasrullah Thattavi Mir Muhammad Sharif Wnqvi and others.

At Akbar's court, a large number of translations from Arabic and Sanskrit into Persian were also made by distinguished scholars of this region. Reference has already been made about some of the works which were translated by Paizi and

1. D.N.Marshall,op.cit,p.18.

2. Prof. K.A.Nizami,op.cit.p.322-25; Mir Muhammad Sharif Wnqvi composed Majani-al-Akbar a history beginning no. 1000 to 1591-92 A.D. The author was in the service of Akbar. Badaoni speaks of him, which quoting his ~~verse~~ ^{verse}, as an excellent calligraphist and letter writer. See. D.N. Marshall,op.cit.p.489(n.1886).

Badaoni. Ramayan was translated into Persian by Naqib Khan, Mulla Abdul Qadir Badaoni and Shaikh Sultan Thaneshwari in 1589.

Atharban was translated by Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi into Persian. Haribas, which contained an account of Krishna was rendered into Persian by Mulla Sheri. A new version of Kalilah Dimnah was prepared by Abul Fazl and was published under the title of Ayar-e-Danish. Faizi rendered the Hindi story of Nal Daman into Persian under the title of Nal Daman. A Sanskrit work of tales was translated by Badaoni under the title Bahr-ul-Amsar. Besides¹ these translations, a large number of others were also made.

Masih-ud-din Abul Fazl b Raddul Razzak Gilani, came their Gilan to Fethpur Sikri. In 1569 he left for Gilen and returned in 1575 to the court of Akbar, where very soon he acquired great influence. He wrote Chahar Bagh, a treatise on epistolography² in 1589.

The literary traditions which were established by Akbar in this region were maintained by his successors. Jahangir himself was a learned man. He was interested in poetry and history. He wrote his own biography entitled Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. The men of letters who flourished at Agra during his reign were : Naqib Khan, Abdul Haq Dehalvi, Baba Talib Ispahani, Mulla Hayati Gilani, Mulla Nishapuri, Mir Jalaluddin Husain, Niyamatullah, Shaikh Sikandar, Asaf Khan, Mirza Ghiyas Beg, Saida, Talib Amuli.

1. Ain (Trans) Vol. I. p.111-113, Prof. Nizami, op.cit. 326-28; S.M. Jaffar, "Education in Muslim India" p.83-84.

2. D.N. Marshall, op. cit. p. 289.

Mulla Ruzbhan Shirazi, Mulla Shukrullah Shirazi, Mir Abdul Qasim Cilani, Amir Amari, Mulla Baqar Kashmiri, Mulla Baqar Khan Tuhtai, Mulla Magsud Ali, Jazi Nurullah, Mulla Fazil Kabuli, Mulla Abdul Hakim Siyalkoti, Mulla Abdul Muttalib, Mulla Abdul Rahman Lurah Cujarati, Mulla Hasan Farighi Cujarati, Mulla Hasan Cujarati, Ahwaja Usman Hissari, and Mulla Muhammad Jaunpuri and many others. They all excelled in the different branches of learning.¹

Among the best poets who flourished at Agra were Abu Talib Amuli (Malik-ush-Shaura), Mulla Layati Cilani, Saïda, Mulla Muhammad Safi Mazadarani, Mir Masum Kashi, Fazuni Kashi, Mulla Mir Haider Ahasali, Asaf Khan, Mirza Ghiyas Beg and others.²

Abu Talib Amuli came to India during the reign of Jahangir. His full name was Muhammad Talib of Amul in Mazandaran. He rose to the rank of poets under Jahangir. He left Agra for Sikri in 1620 and died in 1625-6. He was the author of Diwan-i-Amuli, Safinal, Muntakhab-al-Sher and Atash Karda and the specimen of his ghazals, Qasidas and qitahs have been given in British Museum Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts.³

Another great poet who flourished at Agra was Jafar Beg Qazwini, afterwards known as Asaf Khan. According to the author

1. N.N. law, "Promotion of learning in India During Muhamden Rule," p. 179.

2. Ibid, p. 179-80.

3. Rieu, Supplement to the Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in British Museum (1895) p. 832 (1524, 1525, 1526, and 1527);

of Measir-ul-Umra no one after Nizami had told the story of Khusaru and Sherin better than Jafar Beg in his work Khusaru Sherin. In the prologue the poet ~~xxx~~ says that he had been from an early age addicted to poetry and having been compelled by adverse set of circumstances, he had to seek employment by pen and sword. He repaired from Iran to Hindustan and found a generous patron in the person of emperor Jahangir to whom a long penegyric is devoted. He wrote a large number of Ghazals, Qitas, and ¹Qasidas. Some of his qasidas are addressed to Akbar and Jahangir.

Mirza Muhammad Baqir Najm Sani known as Baqir Khan was another great poet of this region. He flourished at Agra. He arrived from Persia to India in 1605 and flourished during the reign of Jahangir. His Kulliyat-i-Baqir Khan is well known ²collection of poems.

Agha Muhammad Tahir wasli, who was related to Nurjahan was another great poet, who flourished at Agra, during the reign of emperor Jahangir. He wrote a large number of ghazals, Rubais, Qitas and Qasidas and also a diawan entitled Diwan-i-Wasli and ³a masnavi entitled Khusaru and Sherin.

During the reign of Jahangir a large number of historical works were written at Agra, the imperial capital. Niamatullah who held the post of waqiya-i-Nawis Under Jahangir

1. Ibid, p. 200 (314)

2. Ibid, p. 837 (1525)

3. Ibid, p. 815 (1493)

wrote history of the Afghans entitled, Makhzan-i-Afghana on the basis of material collected by Haibat Khan of Samana. Likewise, Mutmad Khan compiled Iqbal name-i-Jahangiri. Besides these works other works were also written.

Besides, the historians and court poets, there were others who contributed in other fields of Persian language and literature. For example Ali Asghar Chishti, whose pen name was Fathpuri, a resident of Fathpur Sikri wrote Jawahar-e-Faridi, a work which dealt with the life of the Chishti saints, especially Fa'id-ud-din Ganj-e-Shakar and his descendants. This work was¹ written in 1623 under Jahangir.

The reign of Shahjahan was a glorious epoch in the history of Persian language and literature. Despite the transfer of capital from Agra to Delhi and assemblage of court poets, historians and scholars at Delhi, the region under review continued to produce scholars of great eminence. A brief account of the poets and scholars is as follows :-

Muhammad Afzal of Allahabad : He was born in 1628 at Sayyidpur in the vicinity of Chazipur and subsequently he settled down at Allahabad, where he died in 1712 at the age of eighty seven years. He wrote Hall-i-Masnavi and a complete commentary on the six daftars of the masnavi. Besides, he is said to have written Persian and Arabic works such as Miftah-ul-² Tawarikh and Latif Masnavi.

1. D.N. Marshall, op. cit. p. 57.

2. Catalogue of Bankipore, Vol, I, p. 110-112.

Muhibullah Mubrez Ilahabadi : also known as Shaikh Muhibullah Allahabadi, was one of the eminent monists and pantheists of Shahjahan's reign. He was a prolific writer. He wrote a commentary on Fusus-ul-Hikam in Arabic at Sadarpur before settling down at Allahabad. In 1631-32 he compiled a Persian commentary on this work. He also wrote a number of treatises such as (1) Manazir-i-Akhas-ul-Khwass (27th December 1640)- a systematic exposition of Ibn-ul-Arabi's teachings in twenty seven chapters (2) In the same year he completed a treatise entitled Haft Ihkam, comprising of seven ^d _A ordinances regarding divine realities. (3) in 1641 he commenced Ibadat-ul-Khwass and completed it in 1643. It contains discussions on various aspects of pantheistic Sufism. (4) About the same time he wrote short treatise entitled Shah Rukni (5) Among his other works are (5) ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Ghayat-ul-Ghyat (6) Maghalit-i-Amma (7) Sirr-ul-Khawass (8) Turq-ul-Khwass (9) Ibadat-ul-Akhas-ul-Khwass and (10) Risala-i-wujd-i-Mutlaq.¹

Qasim Jaunpuri : was another learned man who wrote Khulasat-ul-Qirat, a treatise on the rules of reciting quran and other matters. This work was compiled with the assistance of Nasiruddin Muhammad Qari and dedicated to Shahjahan.²

Wali Muhammad Narnauli : wrote a masnavi entitled Masnavi-i-ilatifah. This ^s _A is a sufi poem written in imitation of Rumi's masnavi. The author flourished during the reign of Shahjahan.³

1. Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India (Lucknow 1965) p. 335-36; D.N. Marshall, op.cit. p. 347 (1287)

2. D.N. Marshall, op.cit, p. 396 (1480).

3. D.N. Marshall, op.cit, p. 483 (1859).

Yahiya Mir Muhammad Kashi : His poetical title was Kashi and his poetical works were collected by his friends Ashna. He wrote Diwan-i-Kashi and there are several gasidas which he wrote in praise of Shahjahan, Dara and Ali Mardan Khan.¹

Hafiz : He flourished during the reign of Shahjahan. He was born in Pathpur Sikri in the reign of Akbar. He was sent by Shahjahan on a mission to Imam Quli. In the 4th R.Yr. he was appointed Arz-i-Mukarrar. In his old age he retired to Agra where he died in 1068 A.H. Diwan known as Diwan-i-Hafiz contains Rubais and Ghazals.²

Haji Muhammad Jan Qudsi : He was born in Mashhad. He adopted Qudsi as his poetical title from the holy shrine of his native place Mashhad. In his youth he performed pilgrimage to Mecca and then he came to Hindustan in 1631; and found a patron in Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung. Afterwards he was honoured at the Mughal court by Emperor Shahjahan. The latter was greatly pleased with Qudsi, when he listened to his gasidah which he had composed in connection with his accession to the throne.³

Shaida : The author of Diwan-i-Shaida was born in Pathpur Sikri. His father was native of Mashhad. He served under

1. D. N. Marshall, op.cit. p. 492 (1859)

2. Rieu, op.cit. p. 206 (325)

3. See, Catalogue of Bankipore, Vol. III, p. 50; Rieu, Catalogue, Vol. II, p. 685; Ethe, Catalogue, Vol. I, p. 845.

Jahangir and Shahjahan. He died in Kashmir in 1080 A.H.¹

The political condition of this region during the reign of Aurangzeb was not conducive for the growth and development of Persian language and literature. Precisely because of this reason we find only a few poets and scholars in this region. A brief account of the poets and scholars of this region is as follows :

Muhammad Saad Saharanpuri ² compiled Mirat-ul-Alam, a general history till the reign of Aurangzeb. Muhammad Habibullah : wrote Zikr-e-jami-e-auliya-e-Delhi * which deals with the lives of the saints of Delhi. The author was born in Agra in 1671-72 and later entered the service of Zeb-un-Nisa, the daughter of emperor Aurangzeb. At the instance of Zeb-un-Nisa he translated Fatwa-i-Alamgir. Later, he was associated with Muhammad Yar Khan, the governor of Delhi and compiled a lexicographical work. He composed a work entitled Muzil-al-aghat and submitted it ⁶ to Khan-i-Khanan Munim Khan and was taken into ₃ service Under Bahadur Shah.

Muhammad Safi Din Wali Qazwini :- He wrote Tuhfat-ul-Akhbar a general history to 1665-66 at Muradabad

1. Rieu, op. cit, p. 206 (326).

2. D.N. Marshall, op, cit. p. 323; * Catalogue of Bankipore, Vol.IV. p. 55.

3. D.N. Marshall, p. 320; ~~***~~ Catalogue of Bankipore, Vol.IV p. 56.

for Asalat Khan the faujdar who had entered the service of Shahjahan and was appointed as faujdar of Moradabad by ¹ Aurangzeb.

Muhammad Husain Jaunpuri: Compiled Fatwa-i-Alamgiri under the direction of Aurangzeb during the reign of Shahjahan. Muhammad Husain held the post of Qazi of Jaunpur. Aurangzeb promoted him to the post of censor of morals at the imperial court and had a great regard for his knowledge. He died in ² 1671 and was buried in Delhi.

Shamshi Abdur Rashid Jaunpuri: He was a famous poet. He wrote a Diwan entitled Diwan-i-Shamshi. He died ³ in 1672.

Pir Muhammad Lakhnawi: He was the author of Manzil-e-arba, an elementary treatise on Sufism, written at Lucknow in 1656. He also wrote Arif-ul-salat a treatise on namaz, written in 1671. His another work was Nisalah-i-dar halat-e-Shah-e-Pir Muhammad, which is a biographical ~~was~~ work ⁴ on the life of the Pir.

Junaid b. Muhammad Latif Bihari: He wrote Junaidiyah or Nasb Namah-e-Sadat-e-Bihari wa-Barah, a book ⁵ on the genealogies of Sayyids of Bilgram and Barah, composed in 1698.

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1. D.N. Marshall, p. 337.
 2. D.N. Marshall, op. cit. p. 323.
 3. Ibid, p. 323 440
 4. Ibid, p. 390
 5. Ibid, p. 236.

Ismatullah b. Azam b. Abdul Rasul Saharanpuri :

He was probably a resident of Saharnpur. He wrote Anwar-e-Khulasat al-hisab, a commentary in Arabic on Bahauddin Amuli's work on arithmetic written in 1675.¹

Ali Akbar Ilahabadi : He was the author of Fusul-i-Akbari, a treatise on Arabic grammar. The author died in 1680.²

Thus, on the whole during this large period this region was never devoid of literary activity. This region gave the best of the scholars and poets to the Mughal court and the country alike.

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1. Ibid, p. 211.

2. Ibid, p. 56.

BUILDINGS TO NO. 11, 12, 13,
OF
THE A. P. 1000 (1520-1707)

CHAPTER IV

THE BUILDINGS OF THE MUGHAL PERIOD

THE BUILDINGS OF THE MUGHAL PERIOD

Even before the establishment of the Mughal rule in the region under review, this region had seen great creative activity. Large number of buildings such as mosques and tombs were constructed by the sultans and the nobles in different parts of this region. After 1526 A.D. we find that many more buildings were constructed by not only the grand Mughal sovereigns and their nobles in this region but also by others. These buildings speak of the taste of the Mughal emperors and their zeal to construct a number of palaces, forts, mosques and tombs and to beautify them by laying down gardens around them, construction of fountains and water channels etc. The genuine love for architecture, their ardent and sustained effort and unbounded patronage which they extended to the artisans and architects alike and the money they readily spent on the construction of buildings for public and private use, have drawn encomiums. These buildings have dressed the Indian landscape most splendidly and beautifully.

Shortly after the conquest and occupation of Agra, Babur employed a large number of stone cutters and workmen to build buildings at Agra, Faizpur Sikri and Aligarh. ¹ During his reign

1. B.H. II, p.608

to the 'all' 1'. He mentions that, "It was not well known. It
is in the industrial position." ¹ He was inclined to invite
from Constantinople a pupil of the famous Arabian architect Sinan
to assist him in building projects, but his preoccupations did not
allow him to achieve the idea.

Babur also laid a large number of beautiful gardens. The
first was Nishi-i-Nihishi or Nur Afshan, which was laid at Agra
on the eastern bank of river Yamuna. According to popular tradi-
tion it was known as Nish Bahi. In fact this name was given to
the aforesaid garden by the Jats. Originally it was a resting place
of Babur's horse. Inside the garden there are five octagonal towers
or bastions surrounded by pillared couplars at each corner of the
river face, underneath or in the body of the terrace are a set of
vaulted chambers, opening to the lower terrace just at the edge of
water; while above or on the terrace there are two minarets, open
baradaris with chambers at each and vawadachs over looking the
river.

There is another garden on the banks of Yamuna in Agra.
This garden is known as Tohra Bahi or Nohal or Nishi-i-Nihishi. This
garden was laid by Babur after the name of his daughter ³ Tohra.

1. B.N. II, p. 533.

2. V.A. Smith, "History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon", p 406;
Agra District Gazetteer, 1905, p. 363.

3. A. Muir, Op.cit. p. 53; J. Villiers Stuart, Mughal and Charles
Gardens of the Great Mughals, p. 42-43; J. Telford, Agra:
Historical and Descriptive, p. 188-9, 190; Smith, V.A. Mughal Colour
Decoration of Agra, Pt. I, p. 3.

buried in the cemetery constructed by the Japanese on the
grave of Minami after in the south east of Imanauji in a place
known as a burial in the "Kushikawa" District.¹

During his reign, Humayun could not get enough time to construct a large number of buildings in this region. The buildings he constructed were not of much consequence and beauty. At Humayun constructed a mosque on the eastern bank of Jamuna in the village Kachhazara in 1531. It was built at the expense of Shaikh Fainuddin Ikhwafi. In front of the mosque there are several tombs, among which is that of Ikhwanja, the son of Ikhwan Fainuddin Ahmad dated 968 A.H. and another tomb dated 986 A.H.² Another mosque of Humayun's time is in the village Ambahta in Meerut District. The village has also a fort of Humayun's time. There is also a tomb with dome and minarets in the middle of the village.³

In Gangoh about 12 miles, twenty three miles from Jharanpur, there are large number of tombs. The most important of these is the tomb of the famous saint Shaikh Abdul Qudus Gangohi, which was built by Humayun in 1531. This building is of moderate size and although it is pretty enough but has no great pretensions to architectural significance.

There is also an old mosque dated 1538 in asba Wigan in the district Azamgarh, which is said to have been constructed by Humayun.

1. A. Führen, Op.cit., 817 - C.M. Villiers and others, op.cit. p.44;
Agra District Gazetteer, 1965, p.363; G. Latif, Agra: Historical
and Descriptive, p. 190.

2. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 55; S. Latif, op.cit. p. 190; Indian Epigraphy, 1965-1966, p. 171.

3. A. Fuhrer, op.cit.p.14

4. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 15

5. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 189.

In 1562, when the son of Malik Sanjar built a mosque in Bulandshahr.

The reign of Akbar saw construction of large number of buildings in this region. The various styles of architecture were blended together in this period and bold experiments were made in the field of architecture. According to Abul Fazl, "His Majesty plans splendid edifices and dresses at the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stones and clay." It seems that Akbar must have got inner knowledge of the dominant styles then in vogue to supply new ideas to his architects to translate them into practical form. He was able to impart the impress of his personality to the buildings that were either erected by him or by his nobles in this region.

Akbar ordered the demolition of the old brick fort of Sultan Sikandar Lodi in Agra and for the construction of a new fort of red sand stone on the same site. The foundation of the fort of Agra was laid in 1565. An irregular semi circle in shape it is nearly one mile and a half in circuit and lies parallel to the right and west bank of river Yamuna. The fort has two gateways, of which the one was on the southern side which was meant for private entry, and was named subsequently the King's gate.

1. Z.A. Desai, 'A Unique Inscription of Humayun from Bulandshahr' Epigraphica Indica, Arabic and Persian supplement 1968, p.28.
2. A.H.(Trans.) Vol. II, p. 246-7; Badaoni (Trans) Vol.II, p.74; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabakat-i-Akbari, Vol. II., p.179, Briggs, Vol. II. p.254; A.Puhrer, Op.cit., p.55; Monseriate, p. 32-33; G.W. Forest, Cities of Mughal India, p. 130-31; S.Latif, Op.cit. p. 74, 96; Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (Islamic period) p.92; A.L. Trivastava, Akbar the Great Vol. III p. 279-81; Agra District Gazetteer, 1965. 354; De Lacy, p.39-40, 150; Annual Report, Archeological Survey of India, 1903-4, p. 16-17.

The main gateway was on the west, and was known as Buland gate. The fort was completed in 1565. Akbar occupied it in 1569. It was the earliest architectural achievement of Akbar's reign.

Inside the fort Akbar built more than five hundred buildings of red sand stone in the style of Gujarat and Bengal.¹ Most of these buildings were later demolished by Shahjahan to pave way for his marble palaces and other edifices. It seems, however, that Akbar's buildings lay in southern angle of the fort and along the parapet with eastern wall over looking Jhana. Two of the palaces, Akbari Mahal (which is in ruins) and Jahangiri had given an idea of the type of building erected by Akbar inside the Agra fort. The so-called Jahangiri Mahal is an extensive palace, rectangular in shape with an arched gateway in the west and open dome on the top. It consists of an irregular grouping of a double storeyed halls and rooms with courtyard on the ground floor.²

According to Percy Brown Akbar's Agra fort resembles Han Singh Tomar's fort at Gwalior and that the resemblance between the two would have not been accidental.³

In the ancient city of Prayag a well known centre of pilgrimage, situated at the junction of Jamuna and Ganga and Saraswati,

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1. A.L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol. III, p. 290; A. Fuhrer, op.cit., p.60.
 2. A.L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol. III, p. 290; A. Fuhrer, op.cit., p. 60.
 3. A.L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol. III, p. 291; Forest, Cities of India, p. 171-74.

Akbar built a fort. It was built in 1563 on the confluence of
 River, Jomana and Jomana. The fort of the fort
 was built in 1563. It was built by the Britishers, deeming this
 grand edifice of good deal of its architectural importance. The
 main part of the structure that now remains is a handsome baradari
 or pavilion called Jamana Mahal. It is the only one of the
 Akbar's most important buildings which was constructed
 inside the fortress. It is in "Mughal style" with a predominant-
 ly Persian in conception and its beauty consists in pillars
 around the interior hall to the centre." The pillars are grey
 brown, "the design of the pillars used at the corners of the build-
 ing where they are in groups of four so that from every point of
 view a rich and elegant perspective is presented. Above this
 colonnade rises a terrace roof continued with a ² fortified para-
 pet surmounted by blocks with latticed screens."

"The most important architectural creation of Akbar was
 the city of Fatehpur Sikri, with its remarkable palaces and numer-
 ous other buildings, secular and religious. The place was in
 wilderness infested with wild animals when Akbar began to convert
 it into a splendid city. A large rectangular space, two miles in
 circuit was enclosed on three sides by a strong bastioned stone
 wall with minarets. The fourth side of the rectangular area was

1. A.L. Rivastava, "Akbar the Great", Vol 3, p. 22-23

2. Percy Brown, "Indian Architecture" (Islamic Period), p. 22-24;
 A.L. Rivastava, Op. cit. p. 23; Cambridge History of India
 Vol. VI, p. 528, L. Fuhrer, Op. cit., p. 123.

protected by official soldiers. It was to be a large city growing up with numerous official buildings, gardens, bathes, and bazars.¹ The district of the Father Anthony Hospital was much larger and had a beautiful royal palace, to the left of which was a great building surrounded by arches with a spacious courtyard. Around the extensive palace of Laxana, the principal bazaar, the main market which extended from the city gate in the north east for half a mile south west and had "a spacious straight, paved street with four buildings on either sides."² Monserrate says that this market "is more than half a mile long and filled with an astonishing quantity of every description of merchandise and with countless people who are always standing there in dense crowds."³ The northern gate of the city was called Latif Col, having two statues of elephants with up lifted trunks in the front which looked very strikingly. The statues were so beautiful and so majestic and true to life that one might judge them to be the work of "Phidias."⁴ In one corner of the polo ground that lay outside the gateway there stood an elegant tower for resuming mile stones.⁵ Outside the city wall there were large suburbs.

1. A.L. Srivastava, Alber the Great, Vol. III, p. 134; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 257; De Laet, p. 147; Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-4, p. 20.
2. Fr. Monserrate, p. 30-31; Cf. A.L. Srivastava, Op.cit., p. 285, Finch, Early Travels in India, p. 147.
3. Fr. Monserrate, p. 30; Cf. A.L. Srivastava, Op.cit., p. 285; A.M. Latif, Agra Historical and Descriptive, p. 123-153.
4. Fr. Monserrate, p. 34; Cf. A.L. Srivastava, Op.cit., p. 285; Smith, E.D., Mughal Architecture of Faizpur Hill, Vol. III, p. 2-4, 30-35. Forest, Cities of India, p. 177-178.
5. Fr. Monserrate, p. 34; Illust. Ind., Early Travels in India, p. 149; De Laet, p. 40; A.L. Srivastava, Alber the Great, Vol. III, p. 285; Ferguson, Op.cit., p. 273, 202.

In the city there are eight lofty gateways such as Alai Darwaza, Alai Darwaza, Alai Darwaza, Alai Darwaza, Alai Darwaza, Alai Darwaza, Alai Darwaza and Alai Darwaza.

For the royal palaces and other buildings the hill was levelled to yield an irregular flat space nearly a mile long and a furlong wide east to the west. Upon this wide plain a group of palaces, private and public audience hall, administrative buildings and offices were raised. The Alai Darwaza said, Alai Darwaza's Alai Darwaza and Alai Darwaza form a not very closely attached block.

Fergusson has given an eloquent description of Alai Darwaza. He mentions, "it is hardly surpassed by any in India." Walking along the Alai Darwaza with Alai Darwaza on its first storey, on the right a series of vaulted chambers and on the left hall known as Hall of Accounts. And then one finds Alai Darwaza, or Alai Darwaza the imperial records office. Next to the Alai Darwaza was the building of royal treasury and a spacious hospital. And there are palaces such as the palace of Alai Darwaza, Alai Darwaza, Alai Darwaza, birth place of Alai Darwaza, Alai Darwaza was the summer house of the emperor. Besides, there is Alai Darwaza's house, Alai Darwaza's

1. Smith, E. B. Mughal Architecture of Pathan Sikri, Pt. III, p. 59-60.
2. A. L. Srivastava, Albarth Great, Vol. III, p. 335-6; A. N. Latif, Alai Historical and Descriptive, p. 42; De Laet, p. 42.
3. Fergusson, Op.cit. p. 579; Fuhrer, Op.cit. p. 70; Peter Lundy, Vol. II, p. 228-9; Forest, Op.cit. p. 196-7; Smith, E. B. Mughal Architecture of Pathan Sikri, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 22-28, Smith, E. B., Mughal Architecture of Pathan Sikri, Pt. III, p. 1-22; Pt. IV, p. 1-24, Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-4, p. 20.
4. Fuhrer, Op.cit. p. 72; A. L. Srivastava, Op.cit. p. 300; A. N. Latif, Op.cit. p. 123-53; De Laet, p. 42; Smith, E. B., Op.cit. Vol. III, p. 44-46.

Fort is a mosque built by Akbar in 1576 A.D. The masonry bridge
of great strength and solidity was built by Akbar in the same year
and under the supervision of Muhammad Tughlaq on the river bank.¹

The village of Shahjahanpore possesses a dar-ul-hajj or mosque
and a mosque built by Akbar in 1570 A.D.² In Kanikpur there are
several mosques which are said to have been constructed by Akbar.³
At the village of Raipur, three miles south of Jais, is the house
of Mir Muhammad Tughlaq. There are two inscribed slabs dated 1577 A.D. which
have recently been removed from the ruins of a mosque built by
Akbar there.⁴

In the region of Shahjahanpore very few buildings were
constructed in this region. When Akbar constructed his father's
tomb at Sikandrabad, we find that a departure was made from the
conventional style of architecture. The tomb is very quite new
to the Indian architects.

The first marble building in Agra is the tomb of Imdad-ud-
daulah built by Muhammad Tughlaq. It is a half-way structure between
the simpler and more economical taste of Akbar and Muhammad Tughlaq who
used sand stone and an ^helaborate taste of Muhammad Tughlaq who was noted for
marble pavilions and citadels. The tomb being on the persona-
lity of its builder. There are two gateways on the north and south

1. Fuhrer, op.cit., p. 300

2. Ibid, p. 316.

3. Ibid, p. 316.

4. Fuhrer, op. cit., p. 304; G. Hardy, Cities of Medieval India,
p. 34; Ferguson, op.cit. p. 305, 307.

and a double storied Baradari on the west. ¹ The entire structure takes a form of transition from the to Arabian.

The Jamun Bari is said to have been built by Jahangir for his most beloved Empress Nurjahan, who furnished his own designs in inlay of precious stones. It was afterwards occupied by Mumtaz Mahal. To the west of this platform are two low ² high lead to his Mahal and to Ikand-i-³.

Ikand-i-³ is a small building of red sandstone with a square plan. It is situated in the middle of a large garden. To the west of it is a large tomb built by Jahangir for his mother's and sister's tombs were built in the middle of the garden.

In Madras District Jahangir built a Mahal-i-¹ in 1718 A.D. Jahangir's Mahal-i-² was constructed in Madras District in 1720 A.D.

1. Belcher mentions about the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula and says that 700,000 rupees had already been spent by this time and Rs. 1,000,000 more will be spent on it before it is finished. See, Jahangir's India, p. 5; Fuhrer, p. 54; Acra District Gazetteer, p. 32; Forrest, Cities of India, p. 182-83; Smith, p. 10. Mughal Colour Decoration of Acra, Pt. I, p. 10-12. Referring to the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula, Percy Brown writes, "There is no other building like it in the entire range of Mughal Architecture. the delicacy of its treatment and the chaste quality of its decoration placing it in a class by itself....." Neither regarded as an architectural composition of matchless refinement, as an example of applied art displaying rare craftsmanship or as an artistic symbol of passionate filial devotion, the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula expresses in every part of it the high aesthetic ideals that prevailed among the Mughals at the time". See Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 552-53.

2. Fuhrer, op.cit., p. 52; I.M. Latif, Acra Historical and Descriptive, p. 36; Stuart, Gardens of the Great Mughals, p. 52-53; Acra District Gazetteer, 1965, p. 357; I.M. Latif, Acra Historical and Descriptive, p. 86-87; Forrest, Cities of India, p. 175.
3. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 131; et al Mundy, Vol. II, p. 101; Allahabad District Gazetteer, p. 302; Beni Prasad, "History of Jahangir" p. 90.
4. Fuhrer, op.cit., p. 53

Surajmal, he had to have constructed the tomb of Ashraf, famous saint at Agra in 1570.

Itam Mahal: This palatial building is situated on the eastern side of the main gateway of Akbar's tomb at Itam Mahal near Agra. It is said that this palace was built by Jahangir for his queen Daulat Mahal. It is a domed structure on which trabeculation system has been resorted to. Its ornamentation chiefly composed of delicate work on the walls.

Itam Mahal: It was constructed during the reign of emperor Jahangir, the mother of the tomb in Agra. It is now in ruined condition.

Emperor Shahjahan sponsored an age of marble and his reign was indeed the lyric age of the Mughal architecture. Like Akbar the Great he was a prolific builder but the architectural styles of the two emperors present a contrast both in temper and treatment. The Hindu character of Akbar's style was almost lost in the Persian features introduced under Shahjahan. While former's style was robust and exuberant the latter's style was elegant, effeminate. Akbar's personality can be studied at Agra while Taj Mahal holds the mirror to Shahjahan's mind and character.

Taj Mahal: In Taj Mahal Shahjahan presented such a rare specimen of man-made beauty that the visitors from all over the world flock to get a glimpse of it and no one can return from there without admiring it. The fondness of beauty, this dream in marble represents highly developed stage of ornamentation,

1. Ibid., p. 11.

2. P. L. Latif, 'Agra, Historical and Descriptive', p. 172.

3. Smith, E. L. "Mughal Colour, Decoration of Agra." Pt. 1, p. 21-26.

reached by the Hindu-Muslim architects, a stage where the architecture ends and ornamentation begins.

Taj Mahal was popularly called Taj Tili la Lauza. It stands on the right bank of the river Jamuna about a mile below the Agra fort. This huge mausoleum has rightly been regarded as one of the wonders of the world and was erected by one of the most magnificent of all the royal builders of Hindustan Shahjahan, in memory of his most beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal. The construction of Taj Mahal in 1651 and it took some twenty years to complete the work. During this period some 20,000 men were employed daily to carry on the work.

Stretching to the west of Taj Mahal is a mosque and a Barai. On the north of it there is a tower called Assai and on its southern end is a baoli.

Another important building standing on the east of Taj Mahal and which was a counterpart of the mosque on the opposite side, is a Jamat Khana. The other historical buildings in the vicinity of Taj are Lauza Mahali, tomb of Airhindi Begum, the Mumtaz Mahal and Lathehouri mosque.

1. Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 109; Thevenot, "Indian Travels of Thevenot," p. 43; Purrer, op. cit. p. 63-64; Percy Brown, op. cit. p. 116; Fergusson, op. cit. p. 593-94; 613-16; C. Hambly, op. cit. p. 93-95; Hamid Reza, op. cit. Archeological Survey of India, Pt. I, 1913-14, p. 4; Enriquez Vol. II, p. 167-70; Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers, Agra, 1966, p. 369; A. A. Jaffer "Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India," p. 103; Tavernier, p. 293-294; A. A. Latif, "Agra Historical and Descriptive", p. 100-123 Forrest, "History of India", p. 193-194, Annual Report of Archeological Survey of India, 1901-1904, p. 13-15.

On the river bank facing the N. E. is Akbar Mahal. There are two ornamental towers built of red sandstone, one of them stands about three hundred twenty yards at one of the corners of the garden along the river front. This garden is supposed to have been the site on which Shahjahan intended to build a mausoleum for himself opposite to the one which he intended to join by a marble bridge. But unto acts of parsimony and his enmities with the Emperor Aurangzeb prevented him. He collected for this project a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 in the year 1642, and in ten lakhs of rupees.

In the year 1642 also he constructed a large number of buildings of marble. A large number of buildings constructed during the reign of Shah were dedicated to his room for Ihas Mahal. In Anang Mahal, a surrounding building was slightly modified by him. The Chand Mahal situated in the north east of Anang Mahal was also built by Shahjahan. The other pavilion built chiefly of white marble, which is supposed to be the residence of Shahjahan's younger daughter Jahanara Begum and the other side of it there was the residence of Jahanara Begum, the eldest daughter of Shahjahan. Shahjahan also built there a new Diwan-i-Ihas, consisting of the outer and inner halls. This was constructed in 1637, according to a Persian inscription. But according to Jahauri it was built in 1635 A.D.

1. Fuhrer, op. cit., p. 55; M. Latif, op. cit. p. 121; Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-4, p. 8, 15, 122; Tavernier, Vol. 1, Pool 1, Chapter VII.

2. Jahauri, Vol. 1, p. 236; Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 57; Ferguson, op. cit. p. 308-9; M. Latif, op. cit. p. 35-37; Forest, Cities of India, p. 174-5.

Loti Masjid : Within the area cit, Loti Masjid occupies a higher ground than the rest of the 1 part of building. It is a beautiful monument, built of finest marble. It is built by Jahangir at a cost of rupees three lakhs in seven years. The building was completed in 1574. According to Fergusson it is one of the most elegant within the city of Agra. The whole structure is of white marble and is a beautiful sight.

There, the Loti Masjid, which is said to have constructed by the Shah Jahan and Salim Chishti inside the area fort. Salim Chishti is a very well known. It is situated in the west of the city and is a very beautiful sight. Whereas, the Loti Masjid is situated on the north western corner of the city. It is a very large and a fine monument. It is attached to the fort and is meant for private use.

The other buildings which were constructed during the reign of Shah Jahan are as follows in the different parts of the Pradesh were as follow. In the village Salimabad in Buzafarnagar district, a mosque named Salimabad was constructed in 1570. In village Khatauli in Buzafarnagar district a large Masjid was built by Jahangir. The date of construction of this Masjid is

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1. A. A. Farman, Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India, p. 103; S. A. Latif, op. cit. p. 22-23; Forest, op. cit. p. 170;
 2. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 56-57; Fergusson, op. cit. p. 530, S. A. Latif, "Agra, Historical and Descriptive", p. 22-100; Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteer, p. 355.
 3. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 57, S. A. Latif, op. cit. p. 24-30-30 To rest, Cities of India, p. 177-178.
 4. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 13.

recorded in an inscription "at the entrance to. In the village of Jhikar, in the district of Jhikar, Jhikar constructed a Jami in the 10th A.D. of his reign.¹

In the village of Jhikar, two miles from Jhikar, district of Jhikar, a mosque which was built in 1052 A.D. during the reign of Jhikar.

Jhikar constructed several mosques in different parts of his kingdom. The mosque of Jhikar in the Jhikar district is famous. It was built by Jhikar in 1077 A.D. Another mosque was erected in Jhikar in the district of Aurangzeb in 1073 A.D. The Jami Masjid of Jhikar was built in the reign of Jhikar in 1030. In the village of Jhikar, a mosque was built in 1078 A.D. Jhikar also constructed a mosque at Jhikar in 1077 A.D. and attached to it is a corridor which was built in 1006 A.D. In Jhikar in Jhikar, Jhikar Mosque was constructed in 1073. Badaun Masjid and Jhikar Masjid constructed by Jhikar in Badaun district. Jami Masjid was constructed by Jhikar in Jhikar district in 1081 A.D. Four miles to the east of Jhikar lies a village named Jaurai, where Jhikar constructed a Jami mosque in 1086 A.D.¹¹ Jhikar also constructed

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1. Jhikar, op. cit. p. 30.
 2. Jhikar, op. cit. p. 30.
 3. Jhikar, op. cit. p. 13.
 4. Ibid., p. 15.
 5. Ibid., p. 20.
 6. Ibid., p. 147.
 7. Ibid., p. 207; A.D. Jhikar, "Jhikar as a sacred city", p. 76, 202.
 8. Ibid., p. 226.
 9. Ibid., p. 22.
 10. Ibid., p. 10.
 11. Ibid., p. 13.

a mosque at Salvador. In the year 1770, a mosque was constructed
at Salvador in the Salvador District. In 1773, a mosque was built
in the village of Salvador in the Salvador District. In 1774, a Salvador
was constructed in Salvador in the Salvador District.

The tomb, following the example of their sovereign also
 was not built in construction building a citadel for them-
 selves or for posterity. The tomb was of the old Muslims,
 in the connection with the fact. In Jalalpur Aligarh
 there is a tomb which was constructed by a person in 1355
 A.D. Near the ruins of the old fort of Jalalpur Aligarh
 district in the south east of the Jalalpur there is a mosque
 known as old Jalal which is said to have been constructed by
 a person.

the tomb of Muhammad is located in Mecca in a fine
monument, built by Muhammad's son in 1510.

The ma Dargah of Miran Bahad Khan Bahadur, a leading officer of Akbar stands in the suburbs with an inscription dated 1537 in Gulistanah district.

The ruins of a large fort built by Ahmad Shah in the time of Akbar are still to be seen and among them stands a majid⁸ of comparatively recent construction in Dandaur in Bulandshahr.

1. Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteer, Muzaffargarh, 1906, p. 352-3.

2. Fuhrer, op.cit., p. 88.

2. Ibid., p. 257.

4. Ibid., 34.

5. Fuhrer, op. cit., p. 163.

6. Ibid., p. 1-2.

7. Ibid., p. 2.

3. Ibid., p. 5.

Shanbhaga in Buzaffnagar District has a masjid and a tomb of Shah Abdul Razzaq and his four sons built during the reign of Salangji in 1570. The domes of both the mosque and tombs are decorated with coloured flowers of excellent workmanship.¹

At Buzaffnagar in Buzaffnagar District there is an old mosque in the village of Buzaffnagar to the south of the village. It was built by Shah Abdul Razzaq and his four sons in 1570. The tomb of said Shah and his mother of white marble is in the same place as the interior dome was built in 1504. It was built by said Muhammad Shah in his father's life time and he lies buried here. The tomb of said Muhammad Shah of white marble and is slightly decorated and the tomb of Buzaffnagar said Muhammad is dated 1504.²

Shah Masjid was constructed in Buzaffnagar in the Buzaffnagar District in 1570.³

The Mirza Masjid in Buzaffnagar is the only remarkable building in this old city. It was built by Mirza Ali-ul-Hak at the order of Akbar. A chronogram of Faizi engraved on the masjid mentions the date of its construction as 1570.⁴

To the south west of the village Azampur is a dhera which is the site of ancient building. It is reported that there was

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1. Ibid., p. 6.
 2. Ibid., p. 12.
 3. Ibid., p. 13.
 4. Ibid., p. 13.
 5. Fuhrer, op. cit., p. 13.
 6. Ibid., p. 15.
 7. Ibid., p. 26.

the school of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Ghazali, the great mystic of Akbar's time. The ruins of an arched gateway are still lying there.¹

Albar's Tomb is situated close to the church of Ibrahim. It was built by Akbar. The entire structure is of red sand stone.²

The tomb is situated to the west of the church and is surrounded by a wall of red sand stone. The tomb is situated in the middle of a large enclosure.³

The tomb was constructed by Akbar's son, Jahangir, at Agra in the year 1607 in the reign of Akbar.⁴

Qutb-ud-Din's Tomb : Near the tomb of Jilka in Agra is a large enclosure about one hundred and fifty yards square surrounded by a lofty wall of red sand stone with crenelated battlements with towers at each corner. The entrance gate on the southern side is a lofty arched gateway. Similar arched gateways stand on the entrance on the other three sides. Qutb-ud-Din was the father of Sheikh Faizi and 'Abul Fazl. He was married to Islam Khan the grandson of Sheikh Salim Chishti, Islam Khan was the governor of Bengal under Jahangir. He died in 1607. The Arabic inscription over the gateway mentions that the building was erected in 1593 during the reign of Akbar.⁵

1. Ibid., p. 36.

2. Ibid., p. 36.

3. Ibid., p. 72.

4. Ibid., p. 36.

5. Fuhrer, op. cit., p. 69. M. I. Latif, op. cit., p. 193.

At short distance from Jach Lalli Begum, and on the
Ikandri road, there is the tomb of Salik Khan Akbar's spiritual
guide. This is a large and lofty octagonal building placed on a
raised platform and surmounted with a dome.¹

The tomb of Iaral Khan is a fine specimen of the latter
pathan architecture and is situated at Larra in the Allahabad
district.

Raja Jan Singh constructed a Han Mandir in Benaras in Akbar's
reign.³

In the Bhogaon tahsil of Mainpuri district there is a large
mound of the ruins of a large fort built in Akbar's time.⁴

In Chahata, in the Mathura district there is a fort like
Jaisal with battlemented walls and bastions and two lofty gateways
of decorated stone work of considerable architectural merit. There
is a local tradition that it was built by Sher Shah but it seems
that was constructed in Akbar's time.⁵

Some of the buildings were constructed by the Hindus in
this region. At Agra on the river side stands the Latiburi, a
tower of red sand stone commemorating, according to the best au-
thenticated tradition, the sati of the widow of Raja Bahar Mal of
of Jaipur erected by his son Raja Bhagant Dass in 1570. It's some
part was demolished by Aurangzeb.⁶

1. Fuhrer, op.cit., p. 68; G.M. Intif, "Agra Historical and Descrip-
tive" p. 123, 124, 125

2. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 139

3. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 283.

4. Ibid, p. 93

5. Ibid, p. 100

6. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 107

The old fort of Lalpur in Bara is said to have been first built by Raja Jan in his Jaipur, a Hindu chief of Akbar's time.¹

In Lalpur there are large number of tombs and mosques of this period. In Lalpur there is a tomb dated 1031 A.D.²

In the Mauzas of Baraganj, Alopi Bagn, Colonolganj and Barukhanna in Allohabad there were several Hindu temples, which are said to have been constructed during the reign of Akbar.³ On the north eastern side of the fort of Lalpur on the banks of Jauna there is colossal figure of Janardan, sculptured in a prostrate position. The carving is rude and massive and it can not be older than Akbar's period.⁴

In 1572 Shah Jhul Sultan built a Jami Masjid on the south bank of Jamuna in Panda district.⁵

The town of Lalpur has large number of relics of the past. Most of these monuments are of the period under review. There are large number of mosques, dated 101, 1120, 1131, 1151 A.D. The oldest is situated on the foot of the hill and attributed to one Shaikh Ali, a contemporary of Akbar.⁶

In Gimanni village in Lahsil Baru, 13 miles north east of Panda there are remains of a fort built by Sultan Shah Jhul.⁷

1. Ibid. p. 108

2. Ibid, p. 130

3. Ibid, p. 139

4. Ibid, p. 130

5. Ibid, p. 145

6. Ibid, p. 133

7. Fuhrer, Op. cit. p. 157.

Shah uli also constructed a mosque in 1531 in Pothur District.¹

The fort of Jaunpur was constructed by Munim Khan Khan Ikhana the governor of Jaunpur under Akbar. The spandrils of the arch are filled with glaze tiles and the walls are divided into panels with ornamental ribs. Outside the fine gateway stand a lat with a Persian inscription dated 1180 A.H.

The stone bridge over Corti in Jaunpur is the only remaining building of any consequence in this city. It was commenced in 972 H² by Munim Khan Khan Ikhana and completed in 975 A.D.

Besides, there are many other important buildings in Jaunpur belonging to this period. Among them the most important is the mosque of Hajim Sultan Muhammad. This is a small vaulted building, which was constructed during the reign of Akbar, when Munim Khan was governor of Jaunpur in 1570. On the northern bank of Corti close to the bridge there is the masjid of Nawab Asad Khan in Lohalla Munawan Jarwaza. It was built in 975 H/1537. Another mosque named Masjid of Shah Habir in Lohalla Pattala was erected by Baba Bik in 1583.⁴

In Sikrara village in the tahsil Jaunpur there is a stone bridge called Pul-i-Gulzar over the river Sai built by Munim Khan in 1569.⁵

1. Fuhrer, Op.cit., p. 157

2. Fuhrer, Op.cit., p. 184

3. Fuhrer, op.cit., 194; Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. VI, p. 120; Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteer, p. 234; W. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 143; Am, Vol. I, p. 218; M.V. Vol.II, p. 291; Indian Epigraphy 1965-66, p. 183.

4. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 185.

5. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 185

For 1111 a town in Amal Amal is said to have been founded by Amal Amal in 1593.

Muzamabad Amal in Amal is an old town. According to a local tradition the town derived its name from Amal Amal, whose tomb is there and is dated 1531.¹ There is also the tomb of Amal Amal the founder of the city and is dated 1530.²

A little distance from the fort of Chunar is a dargah of Amal Amal. The building is of some architectural importance. It was discovered this tomb in 1913 as recorded in an Arabic inscription on the principal entrance gate known as Nakhasi Darwaza. There are other buildings attached to this dargah. For example there is a mosque, the Amal Amal, the walls of which are engraved with the first six couplets of Amal's Amal. The dargah is said to have suggested to Amal the design of Taj at Agra.⁴ On the west of the dargah there is a dargah of red brick built by the former Amal Amal.

At Dewa in Amal District of Lucknow there is the masjid of Akbar's time.⁵

In Amal in the Amal district there is a masjid built by Amal Amal during the reign of Akbar in 1578.⁶

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1. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 191
 2. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 231
 3. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 259-260
 4. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 263
 5. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 267
 6. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 279

The ruins in the district were many brick buildings of Akbar's time. The dargahs of Makhdum Shah and his ¹ son Mir Bihari are important buildings.

Mir Bihari in Harloi district was a friend of Akbar's time and the tomb of Miran Nadr Jahan, Akbar's celebrated Chancellor and the tomb of his son in Harloi district. According to a Persian inscription the building was commenced in 1057 and completed in 1067.²

The Mir Bihari is a ruined mosque built during Akbar's reign in 96 A.H.³

At Shahabad tahsil in Etahpur district there are forty mosques and dargah of Adam Hasul and Imambai of Akbar's time. These buildings are of no architectural importance. The mosque of Shaikh Choto Makhdum in Mohalla Miyan Jami was commenced in 993 and finished in 1056 as stated in two Persian inscriptions. While the dargah of Shaikh Choto Makhdum is dated 993-994 A.H.

Akbar constructed a fort on the bank of river Yona at Akbarpur in Paizabad district in 976 A.H. Within the fort there is a mosque built by Akbar in the same year and dargah of Said Lal a famous local saint. A fine masonry bridge was constructed by Akbar in the same year under the supervision of Muhammad Muhsin.

In the village of Shahpur in the Pratapgarh district there is a dargah of Adam Hasul and mosque built by Akbar in 979 A.H.⁴ as stated in the two Persian inscriptions.

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1. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 270
 2. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 281
 3. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 313
 4. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 313

In the village of Anahaji Bahadur near Lala La Pul
there is the tomb of ai Bahadur in 1005 A.D.¹

In the village of Amroha in the Mauza Chakapour in the
Ratapur district there are ruins of several religial buildings
built by Jawab Abus Shah Mirzezi. These religial buildings²
were constructed during the reign of Kbar.

In Balau in district Dehra Dun there is fort and mosque
and a baradari, which were built during Kbar's reign. Most of
these buildings are in ruins condition.³

Jhanghana in Muzaffarnagar district has a mosque and the
tomb of Shah Abus Shah and his four sons which were built during
the reign of Jahangir in 1030 / 1623.

Shah Baqar Shah built many edifices in 1036 and laid out
beautiful garden with a large tank and baradari and chirana in
Muzaffarnagar district.⁴

A part of the Jami Mosque was constructed by Jahangir's
foster brother Mirza Shah Shah Shah in 1604.⁵

The Masjid-i-Chilla was built during the reign of Jahangir
in 1020 at Amroha in the Dehra Dun district.⁶

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1. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 16
 2. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 313
 3. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 321
 4. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 13
 5. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 21
 6. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 35

The Hiri-lal of Agra is said to have been the eunuch of Akbar who entered the service of Jahangir in 1617 and afterwards became the prime minister of emperor Akbar. He died in 1652. The superstructure eighty square feet is coated externally with thousands of small pieces of mosaic tiles, resembling a porcelain in variety of colours and delicate shades, carefully embedded in the face of the plaster, covering the brickwork. The building is situated half a mile from the tomb of Itimad-ud-daula at Agra.¹

Half a mile from the Agra fort is the Lal Mahal of Akbar. There are extensive remains of a large palace of red sand stone with river wall terminating at the two towers. Akbar was in the service of Jahangir.²

The tomb of Firuz Khan at Agra is supposed to be that of the eunuch of the palace of Jahangir, who built Motazaba. The remains of large masonry tank from the villa, surrounding the tank and tomb is called Tal Firuz Khan. The tomb of Firuz Khan is an octagonal domed building of red sand stone on a highly raised octagonal platform underneath which is a dome roof crypt containing the remains of the two tombs. The tomb has been built in Hindu style and is beautiful.³

Near the village Khwaja-ki-Bara there are the ruins of Jodha Bai's Mahal.⁴

1. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.54; G. N. Latif, Agra Historical and Descriptive, p. 189, 190; Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteer, Agra, p. 361.

It is close to Chhitola ¹ i. e. the harem of Bath of Allahviridi Khan. In the entrance gateway there is the fine arched work and the building is constructed by Allahviridi Khan during the reign of Jahangir in 1600.

The masjid of Iutmad Khan lies on the south side of Asim Barar. Iutmad Khan was bukshi of emp for Jahangir. This mosque is built of red sand stone with octagonal towers at agra. ²

The tomb of Islam Khan at Atara was built entirely of red sand stone and is situated near Chhitola. This is his tomb. ³ Islam Khan was the grandson of haider shah Chitli and was governor of Bengal by emp for Jahangir in 1611.

Giruzahar which was founded by emp for Jahangir the eunuchs of Jahangir has a mosque, several harams and several Hindu temples. Near the town there is a temple which was constructed by Alivardi Khan during the reign of Akbar. The temple of Jan Khan was constructed here during the reign of Jahangir in 1607. There is ⁴ bi-lingual inscription fixed on one of the walls of the temple. The temple of Jugal Kishore is the fourth in the series of old ⁵ temple was built in 1627.

In the village named Khargu or Atara in the Chhansi district there is a sanskrit inscription dated 1627 on the

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1. Fuhrer, op.cit.p.65; S.M.Latif, op.cit.p.178; Agra District Gazetteer p.60; Annual Report of the Indian Epigraphy 1965-1966, p. 168
 2. Fuhrer, op.cit.p.66-67; S.M. Latif, op.cit.p.144-147; Indian Epigraphy, 1965-66, p.168
 3. Smith, A.D. Mughal Architecture, Archeological Survey of India Vol. III. p. 23-24.
 4. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 78
 5. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 78-79
 6. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 114,

Shahjahanabad upon which, recording the construction of a temple¹ in the reign of Shahjahan.

In the village Bilonganj and Dewala in the Ratnagarh District there is a small fort, and within it there is a Diwan-
khana, and a mosque which were built by Inaj Khan during the reign of² Jahangir in 1011-1022 A.D.

Tomb of Itibar Khan at Agra: is a neglected master piece. It is the oldest specimen of octagonal type of tomb. It is really unfortunate that in comparison to the Taj and other Mughal buildings at Agra this has dwindled into insignificance. Itibar Khan was a noble of Jahangir and was governor of Agra for a number of years.³

The tomb of Ikram Khan: was constructed of red sand stone⁴ in Jansa tehsil in Sikandarabad in the Bulandshahr District.

Badshahi Mahal stands at two miles north west of Miruzabad⁵ in Saharanpur District and was constructed by Ali Mardan Khan.

The remarkable tomb of Nawab Sai Muhammad Shujaat Khan was built in 1647 at Jahanabad in Jaranagar tehsil in Mynor District.⁶ It is a beautiful building.

A mosque known as the masjid Valik Sulaiman was constructed in 1066-67 H in the Muhalla Badshahi Chabutra in Moradabad during the reign of Shahjahan. This mosque was constructed by Shaikh Mansur and Chabutra Shahi close to this mosque was built in 1061⁷

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1. Fuhrer, op.cit.p.118
 2. Fuhrer, op.cit.p.316
 3. Fuhrer, op.cit.p.68; Indian Epigraphy, 1935-1936, p.171
 4. Fuhrer, op.cit.p.6
 5. Fuhrer, op.cit. .17
 6. Fuhrer, op.cit.p.30
 7. Fuhrer, op.cit.p.35

In Agra in the Moradabad District, near Khan Bahini¹ built a fort in 1646 and a Jami Masjid about the same time.

Shahjahanpur is devoid of all the objects of architectural interest. The city was founded in 1647 in the reign of Shahjahan by the Pathans under Shahur Khan and Piler Khan. It has a ruined fort which was constructed by Shahjahan and a Jami Masjid, subsequently two mosques were constructed here in 1103 and 1155 A.D.²

At Agra opposite to the gateway of Itimad-ud-Daulah's tomb there are remains of Loti Masjid which was constructed by Shahjahan. Beyond it is a great wall enclosure known as Nawabganj but probably this is corruption of Nwabganj and it is said to have been built by Salabat Khan in the reign of Shahjahan. At each of the four corners there is an octagonal tower and there is a high building in the centre.³

Beyond the Tripolia to the north west is Jami Masjid which was built during the reign of Shahjahan in 1644-5. This mosque was originally called Masjid Begam. It is said that the mosque was constructed by Jehanara Begum, the daughter of Shahjahan.⁴

At Agra there are ruins of an old palace known as Shish Mahal or Deoni Sahibji. Near this building was situated Mahabat Khan's house.⁵

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1. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 35-37; Moradabad District Gazetteer, p. 1, 45, 46 323.
 2. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 43.
 3. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 55; S.M. Latif, Agra: Historical and Descriptive, p. 195; Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteer, Agra, p. 364
 4. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 62; Perussen, p. 330; S.M. Latif, Agra Historical and Descriptive, p. 134, 135.
 5. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 62

At the ¹ end at Agra lies an extensive garden known as Bagh-i-Khan-i-Mumtaz. Close to it are the remains of a large palace and a well garden known as Bilivar Khan-ia - Bagicha and it is said to be the tomb of Mahabat Khan.

A mile from Tripolia is situated an Idrah. This building is a massive one, having an octagonal tower at each end and principal gateway in the centre on the eastern side. The mosque is built of red sand stone and was built during the reign of Shahjahan.²

At Ferozpur the tomb of Baba Pir was constructed during the reign of Shahjahan.³ Baba Pir died in 1665.

The tomb of Haji Abu Saif was built by Shahjahan in Naushahr in Shikohabad tahsil of Mainpuri district.⁴

The Lauza of Shaikh Gulam was built in 1650 in the reign of Shahjahan at Farra in Allahabad district. There is also the tomb of Shah Khubullah with five Persian inscription.⁵

At the village Pach-Bariyabad there is the Lauza of Mubt Alan built in 1116 A.H.⁶

In the village Shahzadpur there is a mosque built by Allahad Khan in 1138 A.H.⁷

There are remains of a strong fort of Itimad Khan in Khwaja Khul village in Kanpur district. This fort was built during the reign of Shahjahan in 1658. Close to the fort is the tomb of Itimad Khan which is of some architectural importance.⁸

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1. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 63; G.M. Latif, Agra Historical and Descriptive, p. 184-186.
 2. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.65
 3. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.80
 4. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.94
 5. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.139
 6. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.139
 7. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.139
 8. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 169

In Munath Bhanjan in Muhammadabad there are large number of buildings of Shahjahan's period. During the reign of Shahjahan Munathbhanjan was assigned to Jahanara Begum and hence the town later received the name of Jahanabad. There a perfect place Latra was built, which is now in ruins, at the orders of Jahanara Begum. This Latra is said to have eighty four mahals and three hundred Mosques.¹

In Lursi in Latul Athour, a mosque was constructed by Irajuddin during the reign of Shahjahan.²

In Lucknow a mosque was constructed during the reign of Shahjahan.³

In 1657 Nawab Diler Khan founded the town of Shahabad and in the centre of it he built a palace known as Bari Deorhi, of which two large gateways are still standing.⁴

In Kheri District, Diler Khan built a Jami mosque and his own tomb during the reign of Shahjahan.⁵

In Shahabad in Sitapur District a Jami mosque was built during the reign of Shahjahan.⁶

In Lauza Shahbuddinabad a Jami mosque, Mans Mahal, dancing Hall, Chihil Litun were constructed by Safi Saiyid Abdul Qadir Khan alias Mir Adil a mansabdar of two thousand during the reign of Shahjahan.⁷

In Balmau in Rae Bareilly district a mosque and baradari were built during the reign of Shahjahan as stated in the Persian inscription fixed in the mosque.⁸

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1. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 190
 2. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 264
 3. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 267
 4. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 283
 5. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 288
 6. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 317

Another great mosque was built by Shah Jahan during the reign of Shahjahan in the Bareilly.¹

During the reign of Aurangzeb also a large number of buildings were constructed in the different parts of this region.

In Bareilly the tomb of the Muslim saint Bahadana was built by Mumtaz Ali during the reign of Aurangzeb.²

At Janauj the tomb of Sayyid Muhammad Khanauji, the tutor of Aurangzeb was constructed and a darai was also built there.³

In Faqutganj village Kahail Balthar there is a darai named Dorni Duri, which is said to have been constructed by a faqir named Miyan Duri Shah. There is also a mosque dated 1675.⁴

The fort of Pala Ianhar and the dargah of Shujaat Khan were built in 1104 H during the reign of Aurangzeb in Kadirganj in Atah district.⁵

In Mathura there is a darai, which was constructed during the reign of Aurangzeb.⁶ In the heart of the city of Mathura there stands a mosque built by Ibtu Nabi Khan in 1061 during the reign of Aurangzeb.⁷

In the village Akbarpur in Banda district Idgah was built in 1072 H.⁸

Three gateways were constructed during the reign of Aurangzeb at Kalinjar.⁹

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1. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 325
 2. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 36
 3. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 80
 4. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 95
 5. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 37
 6. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 107
 7. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 108
 8. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 147
 9. Fuhrer, op. cit. p. 154

At Bilaspur on the right bank of Son river, twenty miles from Ranchi, there is a mosque, which was built in 1700 by Mirat Hashim, the ruler of Bilaspur.¹

At Patnaur the tomb of Nawab Abdus Sarad Khan was built in 1690 in the tomb of Nawab Ahmad Husain Khan of Pindaur and the tomb and mosque of Nawab Tajir Ali Khan was built in 1075 H.² The fort and the auza of Bahadur Khan was also built here.³

In 1110 A.H. in Bilaspur in the Ranpur District Muhammad Naza built a mosque.⁴

In village Conjehra in Ballia District there is a mosque constructed by Muhammad Salih during the reign of Aurangzeb in 1687.⁵

At Lalpur, there is a tomb of Kalandar Shah built by the wife of Asad Khan the minister of Aurangzeb in 1118 A.H.⁶

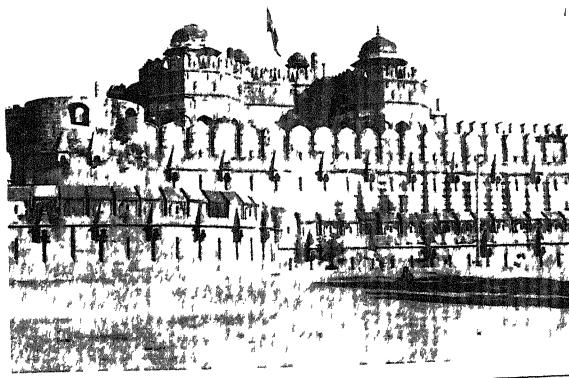
At Lucknow a small mosque was constructed during the reign of Aurangzeb.⁷

In Manikpur also a mosque was constructed in this period.⁸

Besides the construction of palaces, forts, mosques, dargahs etc. in this period a large number of temples were also constructed by the Jains and the Vaishnavites in the different parts of the region under review. Thus the emperors, the nobles and the private individuals gave this region the best of monuments and buildings of great historical importance and architectural significance. Some of these buildings are really beautiful and which display the

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1. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.155
 2. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.160
 3. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.160
 4. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 168
 5. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.190
 6. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.190
 7. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.265

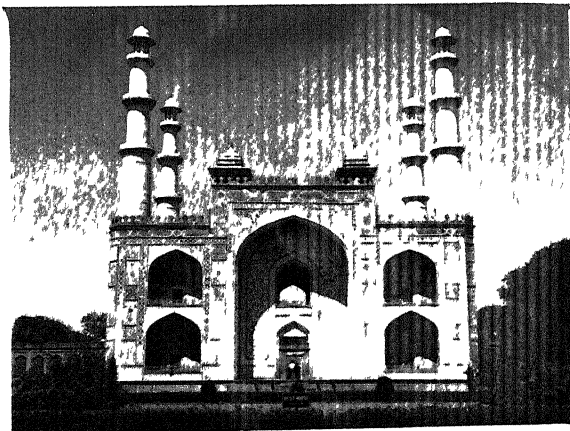
best of the architects and the lofty taste of the builders
of the city. The buildings are of a very high order,
the first of architectural style and the material used an
excellent conception.



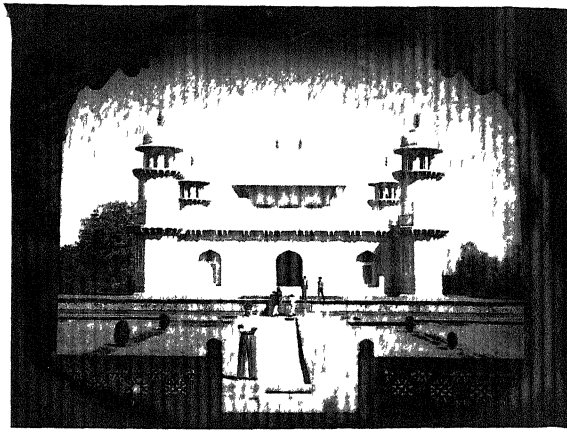
THE RED FORT - AGRA.



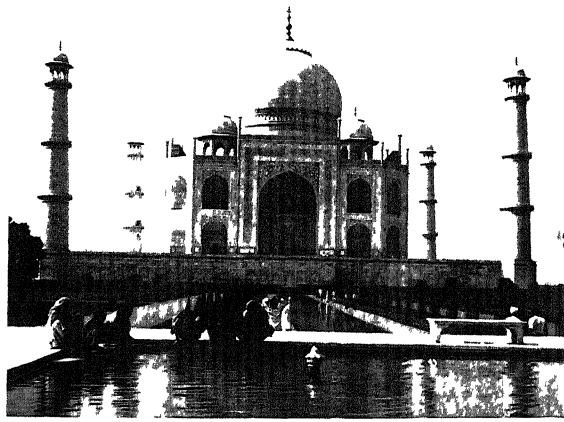
THE BULAND DARWAZA - FATEHPUR SIKRI



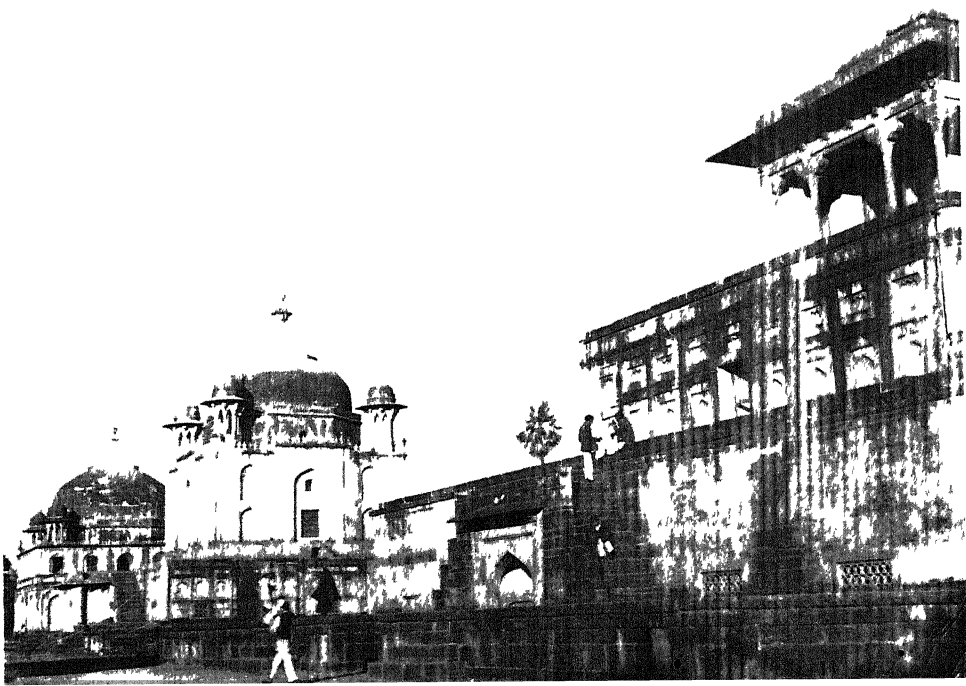
AKBAR'S TOMB AT SIKANDRA



THE MAUSOLEUM OF ITIMAD-UD-DAULA



THE TAJ MAHAL.



THE KHURSHID BAGH

CONCLUSION

The history of this region can be divided into three sections - 1526 to 1580 A.D., 1580 to 1658 A.D. and 1658 to 1707 A.D. In the first phase attempts were made by the Mughal Emperor Babar to establish his hold over this extensive region by pursuing the policy of conciliation and coercion. This policy yielded rich dividend and enabled him to extend the sphere of his authority over a fairly extensive area of this region. Then Humayun by his own acts of omission and commission lost his inheritance and was expelled from this region by the leader of the Afghans, Sher Shah. The Afghans remained dominant in this region from 1540 to 1556 A.D. and thereafter they were again overthrown by the Mughals, who started the process of recuperation. And within no time emperor Akbar succeeded in establishing his hold over this region. So as to safeguard the Mughal position in this region he conquered and occupied the neighbouring regions and dealt an effective blow at neighbouring powers and the recalcitrant chiefs. In short, the process of conquest and subjugation of this region was complete by 1580 A.D.

From 1580 onwards Akbar made decisive efforts to further strengthen the imperial hold in this region by giving it a uniform system of administration, by demarcating the boundaries of the different administrative units and introducing the principles of checks and balances. He did not allow his

officers to assume defiant attitude and weaken the imperial power. Here he had succeeded, whereas his predecessors had miserably failed. The regular transfer of the officials from one province to the other hardly gave them the chance to develop relations with the local population and become strong and powerful. Besides, he recognised the autonomous position of the hereditary chiefs and allowed them to enjoy power and authority in their respective principalities. The net result of these measures was that during the reign of his first two successors there was comparative peace and tranquility in this region. The rebellions of the local chiefs were less aweful and dangerous in this period as compared to the earlier period. Moreover, the policy to colonise the Afghans in the rebellious area of Rohilkhand also proved to be successful. The Afghans did not allow the local Hindu chiefs to raise their head.

From 1658 began another important phase in the history of this region because of certain changes which had been introduced in the revenue administration during the reign of Shahjahan. The most important change was that in most of the areas the Zabti system was given up and farming system was introduced. The ijara system or the farming system was contrary to the interest of the peasantry class. This class was coerced and exploited by the Zamindars and Jagirdars. Consequently, the agrarian uprisings began in this region. It seems that the heavy demand of the government for money

also compelled the Zamindars to rise in rebellion in second part of Aurangzeb's reign. In other words, the period from 1658 to 1707 A.D. was the period of reaction and rebellions, a period in which this region knew no peace.

Despite the political upheavals, conflicts and convulsions from time to time there was no tension in society. Nor there was any downward trend in economy or chaos in religious and literary life of the people. Industries thrived, production was abundant, trade was easy and except the lower classes the standards of living of the people was as it should be. The noise of the wrangling of the swords did not disturb the saints and scholars. They carried on their activities vigorously. The same is true with regard to the architects and artisans. The multi-racial, religious and lingual population of this region in such an age lived without any fear or danger of being coerced or crushed by a dominant racial or religious group.

APPENDIX

MADAD-I-MAASH GRANTS MADE IN FAVOUR OF SWAMI VITHAL DASS OF GOKUL

1. The firman of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi

"As Vithal das indisputably a prayer-offer-(for our well being) is a resident of the Kasba (town) of Gokul, it is meet that no one of the servants of the world protecting Court, and others besides them, should molest the above mentioned indisputable prayer offer (well wisher) his relatives and retainers and by no manner of means should demand or call for anything from them. They must allow him to live in his place and home, easy of heart, so that he might engage himself in praying for our daily increasing fortune and the perpetuity of our eternity allied dignity. They must act according to what is written, and should not go contrary to it. - Dated 29th Jamadi the Second A.H. 985/Friday 13th Sept. 1577 A.D."

"Imperial Farmans, K.M. Jhaveri"

2. The farman of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi

"At this time we have ordered that the cows of the indisputable prayer-offerer (well-wisher) Vithalrai, wearer of the sacred thread (Brahmin) wherever they are, should be allowed to graze. In Khalsa or jagir (lands) no one should injure or obstruct them in the least. They should not be prevented from grazing. His cows should be allowed to graze. The above mentioned (i.e. Vithalrai) may reside in Gokul with an easy heart. It is incumbent (on all) to act according to the order to carry it out. They should not act contrary to what is ordered. Dated 3rd Safar A.H. 989/ Thursday, 9th March 1581.

"Imperial Farmans, K.M. Jhaveri"

3. The Farman of Hamidah Banu Begum

"May it be known to the Karori and diligent officer and others of the Parganah of Mahaban in the Sarkar of the Great Seat (Capital) of the Empire, Agra, that according to the Farman of the Exalted and Just (Emperor), the cows belonging to the indisputable prayer-offerer (well-wisher) Vithleshwarai wearer of the sacred thread (Brahmin) may graze, wherever they are, and not a single individual out of the Khalsa or Jagir (land holders) should molest them or prevent them (from grazing). They must permit his cows to graze (wherever they are). The above mentioned (Vithalrai) should therefore remain easy at heart. It is incumbent (on all) that they must

act according to the order and carry it out, and that they should not act contrary to and against it (should not deviate from it). Dated 10th Ramzan A.H. 989 / Sunday, 8th October 1581.

"Imperial Farmans, K.M. Jhaveri"

4. Farman of Khan-i-Khanan

"Be it known to the present and future Officers of the Parganah, that as in the villages of Savi etc., there is grazing land for cows and ox belonging to Gowardhan they should not prohibit or obstruct them on the ground of watching charges and counting the head of cattle, because the villages have been purposely given in grant. They should act in conformity with the order of the Exalted (One) and take action accordingly. On no pretext should a new permit be demanded every year. Dated 11th Muharram, 997 A.H. /1st December, 1588.

"Imperial Farmans, K.M. Jhaveri"

5. The Farman of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi

"At this time (which is) founded on happiness, the Farman of the Exalted (One) received the honour of promulgation that Gosain (Goswami) Withalrai, a resident of Gokul, has purchased on paying its price land from the owners thereof in the Mowzah of Jaipura, situated in the Parganah, adjoining Gowardhan, and has caused to built thereon buildings, gardens, cowsheds and Karkhanas (workshops) for the temple of Gowardhanath and is residing and staying there. Therefore the order (which should be obeyed by the world finds the honour of issue (is issued) that the above mentioned Mowzah has been given over tax free (maaf) into the possession of the above mentioned Goswami, from descendant to descendant. Therefore all Collectors, Civil Officers, Karoris, Jagirdars and Land holders (Zamindars) present and future, should strive after (the fulfillment of) this order, Exalted as the heavens, and leave in the possession of the above mentioned (person) the above Mowzah with the land purchased descendant after descendant (from generation to generation) and they should not molest and harass him with the demands of the forbidden imposts, or civil levies or Imperial taxes or land tax or imposts on manufacture or other extra ordinary contributions or of the produce of the trees there. And they should not demand a renewed Farman or Farmanah. They should not deviate in this matter (from the above orders) so that the knowledge (Learning) endowed Goswami, feeling grateful for (this) Imperial favour may daily engage himself in praying for the good of the (our) eternity-allied Kingdom". Dated 31st May 1593.

"Imperial Farmans, K.M. Jhaveri"

6. The Farman of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi

"Be it known to the Karoris and Jagirdars of the Parganah of Mathura, Sahar, Mangotah and Od, who have been imploring and have been desirous in every way (of Royal Favour) that a mandate, obeyed by the whole world, has received the honour of promulgation that hereafter no peacocks are to be slaughtered and no shikar (of them) is to be made in the neighbourhood of these Parganahs. Also there should be no obstruction to the grazing of cattle of the people. Because of this order Jagirdars and Karoris should try to enforce the contents of the same in their entirety. They should not allow any one any opportunity to evade or act contrary to it. They should consider it a part of their responsibility." Dated 5th Ramzan 1001 A.H./ 26th May 1593.

"Imperial Farmans, K.M. Jhaveri"

7. The Farman of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi

"At this time, an Exalted Farman, significant of good fortune found honour of issue (to the effect) that as the Mowzah of Gokul togher with the Guzar Ghat in the Parganah of Mahavan, has been settled and entrusted (given over) to Goewami Vithalrai, in perpetuity (descendant after descendant) for the expenses of the Thaordwar (Idol Temple), an (this) Order (which should be) obeyed by the world has secured the honour of publicity that all Civil Officers, Jagirdars, Karoris, Revenue collectors, and Chaudharis should strive to act according to the Exalted Order and allow the above mentioned Mowzah together with the ford (passage) (to remain) in possession of the above said (individual); they should not change or alter it in the slightest degree, and they should not worry him with demands of land taxes or imposts on manufactures, or any kind of captation tax or extraordinary contribution or civil levies (dues) or Imperial demands considering him absolved from all these. They should not call for a (new) Farman or Parwanah from him every year, so that the above mentioned person having become contented with his condition on account of Royal favours may engage himself in praying for the good fortune of the (Our) eternity allied Kingdom". Dated 5th Ramzan, 1001 A.H. / Saturday, 26th May, 1593 A.D.

"Imperial Farmans, K.M. Jhaveri"

8. The Farman of Shahjahan

"May the Officers, present and future, of the Parganah of Sahar who are there on account of the favour of the Exalted (One) know that during this time a petition has been received by (His Majesty) the most Sacred, that the Goewami Vithalrai

Tikayat of Gordhan Nath, resident of Gokul, having purchased lands from Zamindars (with money) in adjoining Gordhan in the Mowzah of Jatipura alias Gopalpur and caused buildings, sheds for cows, gardens (and workshops for the God Gordhan Nath to be built there, has also been living there, here the Order (which should be) obeyed by the world and which is as exalted as the heavens, has found the honour of promulgation, that the lands of that Mowzah have been granted by His Majesty for his use and for expenses of the Thakordwar, tax free and exempted (from the payment of dues). It is incumbent on all the governors and revenue collectors, Jagirdars, present and future, that they should strive for the continuance and confirmation of the Exalted Order, and allow the lands of the above mentioned Mowzah to remain in the possession of the above named person from descendant to descendant and that they should not change or alter it at all in the least and not molest (them) on account of the payment of land taxes, imposts on manufactures, capitation (tax) Royal fee, half of the ten percent tax, Muqaddami, Sad dui, (two percent tax), Kanungoi (fees of the officers acquainted with land tenures) civil levies and Imperial demands, in respect of the above mentioned Mowzah. They should not ask for a renewed farman and Parwanah every year and should not act contrary to or deviate from the Order". Dated 9th October 1633 A.D.

"Imperial Farmans, K.M. Jhaveri"

9. The Farman of Dara Shukoh

"At this time the Exalted Farman found the honour of promulgation, that as Vithal Rai, son of Dikshit Damodar, is one of the prayer offerers (for the good fortune) of this eternity allied kingdom, and has his residence in the Fasha of Gokul (and) as this place or the native place of the above mentioned person, he has got his property and cattle there, it is ordered that no one should molest or disturb him, so that the above mentioned person may with ease of mind engage himself in and continue the offering of prayers for the perpetuity of this eternity allied Kingdom. The mischiefmakers of the neighbourhood of the three places and others should not molest and trouble the above mentioned person in respect of his property." Dated 1643 A.D.

"Imperial Farmans, K.M. Jhaveri"

A few references about the Madad-i-Maash grants made in
favour of certain persons

1. A land grant as Madad-i-Maash was made in favour of Shaikh Habibullah and his descendants in the villages of Darapur, and Muhammadpur and the village of Hasanpur Madho in the Parganah Mallawan, Sarkar Lucknow (dated 10th Ramzan / 20th Nov. 1610, See, A Calendar of Oriental Records, Vol. I, p. 1).

2. By a firman dated 8th July 1575 one hundred and seventy bighas of land was granted as Madad-i-Maash to Qazi Bayazid a man of letters and Qazi Muhammad Mutwalli, Maulana Abdul Jalil and Abul Fateh, in parganah Mallawan, Sarkar Lucknow. (See, ACOR, Vol. I, p. 2).

After the death of the forementioned persons, Shaikh Abdul Hakim, Shaikh Ismael, Shaikh Habib, Khairullah, Abdul Jalil and others put forward a claim therefore the grant was made in their favour on 5th November 1613.

3. Eleven bighas and thirteen biswas of land was granted to Sayyid Qadir vide a farman dated 22nd Feb 1603 and then it was confirmed in favour of his heir Sayyid Muhammad on 12th Aug 1665, in pargana Sandilah Sarkar Lucknow (See, ACRO, Vol. I, p. 23).

4. Seventy bighas of uncultivated land but capable of cultivation in the pargana Sandilah, Sarkar Lucknow, was assigned in Madad-i-Maash to Sayyid Asmatullah in November 1670 (See, ACRO, Vol. I, p. 23-24).

5. A parwana confirming the original madad-i-maash grant made in favour of Shaikh Qutb son of Shaikh Muhammad in accordance with the farman dated 5th December 1659 in pargana Haveli, Sarkar Lucknow, equivalent to forty five bighas and forty five biswas. The original grant is dated Jan. 1634 (See, ACRO, Vol. I, p. 34).

6. According to a farman dated 1647, nine hundred ninety two bighas of land was given in Madad-i-Maash to Birlas Begum. On 15th July 1650, forty seven bighas and one biswah of cultivated land was included in zabt. (See, ACRO, Vol. I, p. 34).

7. Three hundred forty bighas of land was granted to the heir of Shaikh Jafar in pargana Sadarpur, Sarkar Khairabad, Awadh, according to a farman issued on 20th September 1630 (See, ACRO, Vol. I, p. 55).

8. One hundred bighas of land in the pargana Sadarpur, Sarkar Khairabad, was granted to Shaikh Bahauddin and others, dated 10th November 1655 (See, ACRO, Vol. I).

9. Confirmation of forty five bighas in the pargana Baharpur, Sarkar Khairabad, was given to Mst. Chappa daughter of Abdul Qadir on 5th May 1661 (ACRO, Vol. I, p. 56).

10. Confirmation of the grant of 100 bighas in pargana Sadarpur Sarkar Khairabad to Shaikh Bahauddin and others - dated 10th November 1655 (See, ACRO, Vol. I, p. 56).

11. Confirmation of 50 bighas of land to Shaikhul Abdul Wali and others in the pargana Sadarpur, Sarkar Khairabad, dated 26th September 1675 (See, ACRO, Vol. I, p. 56).

12. A parwana dated 1st June 1682 confirming the original grant of 77 bigha of land in the pargana Sailak, Sarkar and Subah Awadh, in favour of Sayyid Husain and Sayyid Habibullah, heirs of deceased Sayyid Ashraf and Sayyid Muhammad, who had been granted the land as Madad-i-mash by Jahangir (See, ACRO, Vol. I, p. 64, No. 133, 134).

For other references see, ACRO, Vol. I, p. 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 86, 87, 88, ACRO, Vol. II, p. 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43 and other pages.

Madad-i-maash grants made in favour of Jangams of Benaras

1. The firman of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi

"whereas under the Sanads of former rulers, 480½ bighas of cultivable land in mahal specified has been granted to Jangams Consequently this exalted firman enjoining compulsory compliance has been issued is the property of the aforesaid person The officials conversant with the affairs, revenue officers, Chaudharis and Qanungoes, of Sarkar Benaras shall not make any changes or alterations in the property specified above. They shall endeavour to keep this order in force perpetually. (They shall not make any demand) for revenue cess, expenses, dues and liabilities like Qatalgha, offerings, Savri, Qanungoe etc.

2. The firman of Sultan Salim

"This exalted firman has been issued to the effect that in pargana Haveli Benaras shall remain in possession of Malik Arjun Mal Jangam, as heretofore in accordance with firman Alishan. Officials, revenue officials, Jagirdars and Karoris of the foresaid pargana shall allow the aforesaid land to remain in possession of the person, as heretofore. They shall not enter into possession of the same and leave the same in the hands of the aforesaid person to appropriate the produce of the same for his maintenance year after year and continue to offer prayers for perpetuity of the eternal empire. They shall treat the foresaid land as free and exempt from all the dues and liabilities, such as Qatalgha, offerings, Savari, Dahnimi, agricultural taxes, two percentages, games, disputes, and quarrels of cultivatory matters, annual requisition after assessment of Chak all civil liabilities and imperial demands, nor shall they demand renewal If the property has been put in possession of others they shall have the same recovered. The officials shall deem it worthy of implicit obedience and compliance and not to deviate from it"

3. Firman of Shahjahan

"Be it known to the Mussaddis in charge of affairs at present or in future of pargana Haveli Sarkar Chunar that 100 bighas of land have under the royal exalted firman been granted to the Jangams for their maintenance in the foresaid pargana as specified in the schedule. They should leave the land in enjoyment of the foresaid persons as heretofore and treat the same as free from all dues and demands, fines and penalties, expenses and cesses and cause no interference of any sort, so that they may appropriate the produce of their maintenance and continue to pray for perpetuity of the empire."

4. The firman of Aurangzeb

"Be it known to the mutesaddis in charge of affair of

pargana Haveli, Chunar that 100 bighas of land in village Sirajpur within the limits of the foresaid pargana has already been granted under the exalted firman for the maintenance of the Jangams. Now that it has been ascertained that they are entitled to the same the said land has been by way of imperial grace and favour, is allowed to be retained by them. The Mussaddis shall allow the Jangams to retain the foresaid land, so that they could bring the land under cultivation and appropriate the produce for their maintenance and continue to offer prayers for perpetuity of eternal empire. This should be treated as urgent."

The original firmans are still in possession of the Jangamhari Math of Benaras.

Date	Variety	Place	Quantity	Reference
1-12-1618	Calicoe	Agra	20 Bales	English Factories, 1618-20, p. 46-47.
"	Carpets	"	6 Bales	Ibid.
20-2-1619	Semianos	"	14 Fardles	English Factories, 1618-20, p. 73
"	Carpets	"	11 Packs	Ibid.
"	Amartees	"	7 Fardles	Ibid.
15-2-1619	Semianos	"	6000 Pieces	English Factories, 1618-20, p. 51-58.
"	Carpets	"	46 Pieces	Ibid., p. 61.
"	Semianos	"	2330 Pieces	Ibid., p. 61.
"	Saban	"	50 Pieces	Ibid., p. 61.
16-3-1619	Chintz	"	207 Pieces	Ibid., p. 61.
10-4-1619	Chautars	"	60 Pieces	Ibid., p. 184.
15-12-1619	Semianos	"	-	Ibid., p. 161.
10-1-1620	Semianos, Amartees Saban, Amartees Carpets, Chintz, quiltas, Darya- bedis & Jalal- puris.	Agra, Lahore & Barana	-	English Factories, 1618-20, p. 161.
29-9-1636	Calicoes & Semianos	Agra	-	English Factories, 1634-40, p. 298.

(continued)

Date	Variety	Place	Quantity	Reference
Nov. 1639	Daryabadis Marcooles	Agra	20000 Pieces 7000 Pieces	English Factories, 1637-41, p. 192. Ibid., p. 192.
28-1-1640	Daryabadis Marcooles	"	6000 Pieces 5580 Pieces	Ibid., p. 232. Ibid., p. 278.
29-12-1640	Marcooles Marcooles, Chinnikere) Adgar, Akharis) Ghazee)	"	60 Bales 99 Bales	Ibid., p. 278. English Factories, 1637-41, p. 278.
"	Marcoole	Lucknow	20000 Pieces	English Factories, 1637-41, p. 278.
24-11-1641	Daryabadis Khairabadis Marcooles Akharis Calico Ghazee	" " " " Agra	20000 Pieces 12 Bales 52 Bales - -	" " " " "
27-1-1643	Marcooles Calicoe, Ghazis) Akharis) Daryabadis -	" " " " "	117 Bales 10000 Pieces 100 Bales 10000 Pieces	Ibid., p. 137. " English Factories, 1637-41, p. 137.
30-3-1646	Calicoes	"	-	English Factories, 1646-50, p. 57.
6-1-1648	Daryabadis Ghazi	Via Agra Goxul, Hirdaur & Lucknow	20000 Pieces -	Ibid., p. 88. Ibid., p. 88.

(continued)

Date	Variety	Place	Quantity	Reference
26-1-1650	Chintz Akbaris	Agra Via Agra	-	English Factories, 1646-50, p. 277.
			-	Ibid., p. 277.
15-2-1650	Ghazi etc.	Lucknow	-	Ibid., p. 290.
4-1-1651	Marcocoles	Nawgaon	-	English Factories, 1651-54, p. 8.
8-3-1651	Daryabadis	Lucknow	-	Ibid., p. 52.
"	"	"	150 Bales	Ibid., p. 52.
2-3-1652	-	"	-	Ibid., p. 114.
15-8-1656	Daryabadis	"	3000 Pieces	English Factories, 1655-60, p. 70
1667	"	"	16000 Pieces	English Factories, 1665-67, p. 253.
	Marcocole	"	8000 Pieces	"

Name of Sarkar	Revenue given in Ain-i-Akbari	Actual Calculation	Conversion in Rupees	
			R	n.p.
1. Agra ¹		109,609,867 dams	27,402,466.75	
2. Kalpi	49,356,732 dams	49,376,935 "	12,344,233.75	
3. Kannauj	52,584,624 "	52,194,013 "	13,048,503.25	
4. Kol (Aligarh)	54,992,940 "	53,792,658 "	13,448,164.50	
5. Irif ²		17,532,421 "	4,383,105.25	
6. Delhi ³		31,799,430 "	7,949,857.50	
7. Badaon	8,093,850 "	6,611,190 "	1,652,797.50	
8. Kumaon	40,437,700 "	33,525,000 "	8,381,250.00	
9. Sambhal	66,941,431 "	61,889,760 "	15,472,440.00	
10. Saharanpur	87,839,659 "	84,982,279 "	21,245,569.75	
11. Allahabad	20,833,374 ¹ "	25,801,058 "	6,450,264.50	
12. Ghazipur	13,431,308 "	18,624,454 "	4,656,113.50	
13. Benares	8,869,315 "	8,857,613 "	2,214,404.50	
14. Jaunpur	56,394,107 "	71,364,940 "	17,841,235.00	
15. Manikpur	33,916,527 "	33,918,577 "	8,479,644.25	
16. Chunar	5,810,654 "	4,966,393 "	1,241,598.25	
17. Kalinjar	23,839,470 "	23,609,093 "	5,902,273.25	
18. Karrah	17,397,567 "	17,397,527 "	4,349,381.75	

Continued

APPENDIX

LIST OF SUBEHARS OF DELHI, AGRA, ALLAHABAD AND OUDH.

DELHI

AKBAR

1. From 24th R. Yr. to 26th R. Yr. not known. 2. Mirza Aziz Koka 27th to 30th R. Yr. 3. Shah Quli Khan - 31st R. Yr. 4. Abul Fazl - 31st R. Yr. Shaham Khan Jalair - 32nd to 35th R. Yr. and again from 35th to 49th R. Yr. the name of governor is not known.

JAHANGIR

1. Shah Muhammad Wahab - 1st R. Yr. 2. Muazzam Khan - 2nd to 6th R. Yr. Muqarrab Khan - 7th R. Yr. to 13th R. Yr. 4. Jayyid Bahwa - 14th R. Yr. 5. Mir Miran - 15th R. Yr. 6. Muqarram Khan - 16th R. Yr. to 17th R. Yr. 7. Jayyid Bahwa Bukhari - 18th to 21st R. Yr. 8. Mukhtar Khan Qalij Khan - 22nd R. Yr.

SHAHJAHAN

1. Mukhtar Khan Qalij Khan - 1st to 2nd R. Yr. 2. Mahabat Khan - 2nd to 5th R. Yr. 3. Lashkar Khan - 5th R. Yr. 4. Itiqad Khan - 6th to 7th R. Yr. 5. Baqar Khan, Asalat Khan - 8th to 9th R. Yr. 6. Ghairat Khan - 10th to 11th R. Yr. 7. Allahwardi Khan - 12th to 15th R. Yr. 8. Makarmat Khan - 15th to 22nd R. Yr. 9. Jafar Khan - 23rd R. Yr. 10. Khalilullah Khan - 24th R. Yr. to 32nd R. Yr.

AURANGZEB

1. Siyadat Khan - 1st to Yr. 2. Danishmand Khan - 2nd to 5th R. Yr. 3. Jaif Khan - 6th to 7th R. Yr. 4. Danishmand Khan - 8th to 11th R. Yr. 5. Nandar Khan - 13th to 16th R. Yr. 6. Sais Khan - 17th to 23rd R. Yr. 7. Aqil Khan - 24th to 40th R. Yr. 8. Muhammad Yar Khan - 40th to 51st R. Yr.

SUBAH AGRA

AKBAR

1. 24th R. Yr. no governor. 2. Sultan Daniyal - 25th R. Yr. 3. 26th to 30th R. Yr. no governor. 4. Shah Ibrahim and Raj Askaran 31st to 36th R. Yr. 5. 37th to 42nd R. Yr. no governor. 6. Shah Quli Marham - 43rd R. Yr. 7. Qalij Khan - 44th R. Yr. 8. Asaf Khan - 46th R. Yr. 9. 47th to 49th R. Yr. no governor was appointed.

JAHANGIR

1. 1st to 7th R. Yr. no governor. 2. Khwaja Jahan - 8th to 13th R. Yr. 3. Laskar Khan - 14th to 15th R. Yr. 4. Muzaffar Khan - 16th R. Yr. 5. Itibar Khan - 17th R. Yr. 6. Muqarrab Khan - 18th R. Yr. 7. Qasim Khan - 19th R. Yr to 20th R. Yr. 8. Muzaffar Khan - 21st to 22nd R. Yr.

SHAHJAHAN

1. Qasim Khan and Wazir Khan - 1st R. Yr. 2. Ishtar Khan - 2nd to 3rd R. Yr. 3. Safdar Khan - 4th to 6th R. Yr. 4. Sayyid Khan Jahan - 7th to 8th R. Yr. 5. Azam Khan - 9th R. Yr. 6. Saif Khan - 10th to 11th R. Yr. 7. Safdar Khan - 12th to 13th R. Yr. 8. Wazir Khan - 14th to 17th R. Yr. 9. Raja Bithal Dass - 18th to 19th R. Yr. 10. Shaikh Farid - 18th to 19th R. Yr. 11. From 20th R. Yr. to 32nd R. Yr. no governor was appointed.

AURANGZEB

1. Shaishta Khan - 1st R. Yr. 2. Mukhlis Khan - 2nd R. Yr. 3. Saif Khan - 2nd R. Yr. 4. Wazir Khan - 3rd to 5th R. Yr. 5. Islam Khan and Hoshdar Khan - 6th to 13th R. Yr. 6. Handar Khan - 14th R. Yr. 7. Jarbuland Khan - 15th to 16th R. Yr. 8. Khwaja Nur - 17th to 19th R. Yr. 9. Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur - 20th R. Yr. 10. Shaishta Khan - 21st to 22nd R. Yr. 11. Safi Khan - 22nd to 23rd R. Yr. 12. Ibadullah Khan - 24th R. Yr. 13. Sayyid Munawwar Lashkar Khan - 25th to 26th R. Yr. 14. Muhtashim Khan Mir Ibrahim - 27th R. Yr. 15. Shafi Khan - 28th to 29th R. Yr. 16. Mukarram Khan - 30th R. Yr. 17. Sipahdar Khan - 30th to 36th R. Yr. 18. Itiqad Khan - 36th R. Yr. 19. Shaishta Khan - 37th R. Yr. 20. Fida Khan Jaleh Khan - 38th R. Yr. 21. Prince Muazzam - 39th R. Yr. 22. Itiqad Khan - 40th R. Yr. 23. Mukhtar Khan - 41st R. Yr. 24. Itiqad Khan - 41st to 45th R. Yr. 25. Mukhtar Khan (amaruddin) - 46th to 51st R. Yr.

SURAH ALLAHABAD

AKBAR

1. From 24th to 30th R. Yr. no governor. 2. Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan - 31st R. Yr. 3. From 34th to 41st R. Yr. no governor. 4. Sultan Daniyal - 42nd to 44th R. Yr. 5. From 45th to 49th R. Yr. no governor.

JAHANGIR

1. From 1st to 4th R. Yr. no governor. 2. Abdus Subhan - 5th R. Yr. 3. No governor in 6th R. Yr. 4. Daulat Khan -

7th to 9th R. Yr. 5. Jahangir Quli Khan - 10th R. yr.
5. Prince Parvez - 11th to 15th R. Yr. 6. Shaikh Qasim -
16th to 17th R. Yr. 7. Mirza Rustam Safvi - 18th to 20th
R. Yr. 8. Jahangir Quli Khan - 21st R. Yr. 9. Bahadur
Khan Uzbek - 22nd R. Yr.

SHAHJAHAN

1. Bahadur Khan - 1st R. Yr. 2. Jan Sipar Khan - 1st R. Yr.
3. Qalij Khan - 2nd R. Yr. to 4th R. Yr. 4. Said Khan - 5th
R. Yr. to 7th R. Yr. 5. Azam Kika - 8th to 9th R. Yr. 6.
Baqar Khan - 10th R. Yr. 7. Shujaat Khan - 10th to 15th R.
Yr. 8. Abdullah Khan - 16th R. Yr. 9. Shaista Khan - 16th
to 17th R. Yr. 10. Dara Shukoh - 18th to 32nd R. Yr.

AURANGZEB

1. Khan-i-Dauran Nasiri Khan - 1st R. Yr. 2. Bahadur Khan -
2nd to 9th R. Yr. 3. Allahwardi Khan - 10th to 11th R. Yr.
4. Amir Khan Mir Miran - 12th to 26th R. Yr. 5. Saif Khan -
27th R. Yr. to 28th R. Yr. 6. Mukhlis Khan Mir Ibrahim -
28th R. Yr. 7. Himmat Khan - 29th to 32nd R. Yr. 8. Bahadur
Khan Kika - 33rd R. Yr. 9. Himmat Khan Muhammad Husain -
34th to 35th R. Yr. 10. Buzurg Umed Khan - 36th R. Yr.
11. Sipahdar Khan Nandar Khan - 37th to 40th R. Yr. 12.
Ibrahim Khan - 41st R. Yr. to 42nd R. Yr. 13. Sipahdar
Khan - 43rd to 45th R. Yr. 14. Fidai Khan - 46th R. Yr.
15. Sipahdar Khan - 47th R. Yr. to 51st R. Yr.

SUBAH OF AWADH

AKBAR

1. 24th R. Yr. not known. 2. Wazir Khan - 25th to 27th R. Yr.
3. 28th to 30th R. Yr. not known. 4. Fateh Khan Qashi -
31st to 35th R. Yr. 5. 26th R. Yr. to 49th R. Yr. not known.

JAHANGIR

1. 1st to 10th R. Yr. not known. 2. Mirza Ali Beg - 11th
R. Yr. 3. Sayyid Khan Wariso - 12th R. yr. 4. 12th to 15th
R. Yr. not known. 5. Baqar Khan - 16th R. Yr. 6. 17th to
22nd R. Yr. not known.

SHAHJAHAN

1. 1st to 20th R. Yr. not known. 2. Mirza Khan - 21st R. Yr.
3. Itiqad Khan - 22nd to 23rd R. Yr. 4. 24th R. Yr. to 25th
R. Yr. not known. 5. Shahnavaz Khan - 26th R. Yr. 6. 27th
R. Yr. to 30th R. Yr. no governor. 7. Tarbiyat Khan - 31st
to 32nd R. Yr.

List of Subahdar

AURANGZEEB

1. Iradat Kahan - 1st R. Yr. 2. Fidai Khan - 2nd R. Yr.
3. Murad Khan - 3rd to 8th R. Yr. 4. Saif Khan Shikan Khan - 9th to 10th R. Yr. 5. Fidai Khan Azam Khan Koka - 11th to 12th R. Yr. 6. Fidai Khan - 13th R. Yr. 7. Tarbiyat Khan Barlas - 14th to 16th R. Yr. 8. Mir Ahmad Saadat Khan - 17th R. Yr. 9. Namdar Khan - 18th R. Yr. 10. Tarbiyat Khan Barlas - 19th R. Yr. 11. Namdar Khan - 20th R. Yr. 12. Tabawwar Khan - 21st R. Yr. 13. Abu Muhammad Khan Bijapuri - 22nd R. Yr. 14. From 23rd R. Yr. to 31st R. Yr. not known.
15. Kangar Khan - 32nd R. Yr. 16. Himmat Khan Muhammad Hasan - 33rd R. Yr. 17. From 34th to 36th R. Yr. no governor. 18. Khudaband Khan - 37th R. Yr. 19. Aghar Khan Hyderabad - 38th to 40th R. Yr. 20. Asadullah Ikram Khan - 41st R. Yr. 21. Zabardast Khan Muhammad Khalil - 42nd R. Yr. 22. Shamsheer Khan Qureshi - 43rd R. Yr. 23. Zabardast Khan Muhammad Khalil - 44th to 45th R. Yr. 24. Muhammad Murad Khan - 46th R. Yr. 25. Shamsheer Khan Qureshi - 47th to 48th R. Yr. 26. Mirza Khan Alam - 49th R. Yr. 27. Abu Nasir Khan - 50th to 51st R. Yr.

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